The German Tribune
A WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE GERMAN PRESS
Hamburg, 21 May 1978
Seventeenth Year - No. 840 - By air
C 20725 C

Nato tremor over Turkish diplomacy



Turkey's Social Democratic premier Bülent Ecevit, who visited Bonn from 10 to 12 May, has been much on the move recently.

Since he could easily devote his entire attention to Turkey's nerve-racking domestic problems, this spate of personal diplomacy is to his credit.

The 53-year-old Prime Minister, who was in office when Turkey invaded Cyprus in August 1974, would prefer what he calls his "multilaterally dynamised" foreign policy not to be dismissed as a smokescreen over domestic difficulties.

His attempt to establish goodwill abroad is intended in the long term to help redress the domestic balance. The Ecevit administration certainly needs urgent foreign financial assistance to stabilise Turkey's finances.

In the past three years headlong investment and import policies pursued by Süleyman Demirel's right-wing coalition has plunged Turkey and its population of 42 million to the brink of bankruptcy.

But it would be wrong to see Mr Ecevit's travels mainly as an attempt to negotiate credit terms. The new government in Ankara is currently engaged in a fundamental review of foreign policy, assessing the value of treaty obligations and considering alternatives.

It is by no means merely a matter of a minor adjustment of security policy within the firm framework of the Western alliance. Mr Ecevit and his associates seem to be seriously considering non-alignment along Yugoslav lines.

Does the Turkish premier seriously envisage parting company with the West? In speeches and interviews he takes pains to insist that his government is sufficiently responsible not to disregard the delicate balance of detente and peace in a region of such strategic importance.

Turkey, Mr Ecevit says, will remain a member of the Western alliance as long as "our interests are guaranteed by the collective defence system."

In his government policy statement the Turkish premier nonetheless referred to his country's special role as a state that forms both part of the Balkans and part of the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East.

In future, he said, Turkish foreign policy would have to take these historical and geographical facts more into account.

Mr Ecevit demonstratively chose as his first foreign port of call Yugoslavia and President Tito, the grand old man of non-alignment. A visit to Bulgaria followed, Rumanian premier Manescu having previously visited Ankara.

At the end of April the Turks were host to a visitor whose presence must have piqued Nato top brass: Marshal Ogarkov, chief of the Soviet general staff.

Premier Ecevit is due to visit Moscow in mid-June after an extended fact-finding tour of Western Europe, followed by the Nato summit in Washington in late May which he will chair.

Is it all a patent blackmail bid in which Mr Ecevit does not by any means have all the bargaining power? Greek Cypriot President Kyprianou certainly thinks so.

The Greek Cypriot leader talks of a grand bluff, untiringly claiming that Turkey needs the West even more than the West needs Turkey.

Yet President Kyprianou twice sent his ambassador in Moscow to confer with the Soviet authorities when, in the wake of the Soviet chief of general staff's visit to Ankara, there were press reports of a Kremlin offer to supply Turkey with military aid.

After some hesitation the Soviet Union declared that these reports were completely unfounded, which Nicosia noted with satisfaction.

But the Greek Cypriots would be deceiving themselves, which they are prone to do on occasion, if they were to overlook that Moscow is playing several roles in the Graeco-Turkish conflict, mainly with a view to keeping the pot boiling in the Eastern Mediterranean.

In the economic sector, for instance (if there only, for the time being), Russia is courting the sick man of the Bosporus with offers of such grandiose cooperation that the Kremlin might well be accused of importuning.

Mr Ecevit has informed his Nato allies that nothing short of a prompt end to the US embargo on arms exports to Turkey, accompanied by additional military and economic assistance, will

Continued on page 2



Prime Minister of the move: Turkish premier Bülent Ecevit meets the press with Chancellor Helmut Schmidt during his three-day visit to the Federal Republic of Germany. (Photo: Sven Simon)

Moro murder brings time for re-think

The murder of Italian ex-premier Aldo Moro — or the final instalment in his gradual execution — provides this country with a more than convenient reason to review its own position.

It might at long last compel Western Europe as a whole to do what can be done.

The events in Italy have disproved the theory that the exercise of power is sufficient to undermine terrorist tactics.

There could, moreover, hardly be a more dramatic reminder to member of the Council of Europe that the time has come to ratify the anti-terror convention — a step that only this country, Austria and Sweden have so far taken.

The convention might not prevent crimes of violence but it might have prevented the Dutch Supreme Court from ruling that the abduction of Hanns-Martin Schleyer and the attempt to blackmail Bonn constituted a political offence.

The Dutch court's distinction between categories of serious crimes in connection with the extradition proceedings against Knut Folkerts, Gert Schneider and Christoph Wackernagel is most disconcerting.

The accused may be deemed to have been politically motivated but when did murder become an acknowledged political tactic?

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 10 May 1978)

IN THIS ISSUE

EEC skiers bog down in farm prices 'slalom'

Bonn Agriculture Minister Josef Ertl, newly-elected president of the Skiing Association, calls this year's round of tough farm price talks on behalf of the EEC's 8.8 million farmers a "giant slalom."

When he chose this figure of speech Herr Ertl could hardly have expected that the Council of Ministers would take 16 days to negotiate the course.

There was no mistaking the strain on the faces of the Nine's Agriculture Ministers after their annual marathon, but this time everyone failed to pass the finishing-post.

This unsatisfactory outcome will irk farmers and consumers in all Common Market countries, but it must be said that this year's EEC farm budget is the costliest since farm price guarantees were introduced in 1962.

In those days farmers were happy at the prospect of safe pegged prices. No-one anticipated monetary upsets within the Common Market.

Everyone was accustomed to fixed exchange rates and the Common Agricultural Policy made do with a single unit of account. Now every EEC country has its own "green currency."

Tormented by grim visions of what the farm price talks will be like when Greece, Portugal and Spain join the EEC, Herr Ertl was annoyed with the Foreign Ministers of the Nine (and their heads of government and state), who favour Common Market enlargement politically but prefer to leave the long, hard slog of negotiating the small print to the Agriculture Ministers.

"No-one will be going home satisfied after this round of talks," Josef Ertl forecast before the price slalom began. How right he proved.

But the Common Agricultural Policy, still deemed a pillar of European integration, will survive — even as a thing of rags and tatters.

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 12 May 1978)

■ FOREIGN AFFAIRS

European stability – the price for avoiding nuclear horror

On average Europe has never stayed at peace for longer than 30 years or so, and even in the nuclear age war is still a distinct possibility.

The only way to forestall a nuclear holocaust is to achieve a greater degree of stability in Europe.

Over the past four years the state of world affairs has changed substantially, and so has this country's position.

Yet not everywhere has this change been noted with sufficient clarity, especially in this country which, oddly enough, is chiefly concerned.

Until the end of 1973 and the beginning of 1974 the spirit and atmosphere of detente predominated. The world powers seemed to be agreed on what they considered basic, no matter how many verbal battles they still fought.

In Europe, which both sides considered their major political theatre, the superpowers reckoned the status quo was, in principle, acceptable, not to say desirable.

They might be at daggers drawn elsewhere in the world, but this was considered of secondary importance. The struggle for the allegiance of the Third World had yet to emerge as a major factor.

This was a world which changed at the end of 1973 as though an evil spell had been cast. The Yom Kippur War, followed by the oil crisis, started a steadily worsening state of affairs.

When the world awoke at the beginning of 1974 it was evident that the ship of world affairs had sailed overnight into treacherous waters nowhere marked on nautical charts and from which there appeared to be no way out.

Europe suddenly seemed relatively stable. Now it was the turn of the Third World in general and the Middle East in particular to dominate the international atmosphere with its suddenly heightened volatility.

No-one, of course, had forgotten that the Third World had trouble spots of its own. It had always been feared that at some time in the distant future the world powers would clash over the vast expanses of the Middle East and South Asia, Africa and Latin America.

These conflicts, observers suspected, might gain in intensity. Now they had done so, at an unexpectedly early juncture.

But instead of being waged in insignificant stages that did not warrant a major confrontation, as crystal-gazers had hoped, the most dangerous trouble spot in the world turned out to be the scene of the clash.

It was the Middle East, where for the past 150 years the interests of Russia as a continental power had repeatedly and alarmingly clashed with those of the foremost naval power.

Russia's adversary used to be Britain; now it was the United States. America, partly because of the Persian Gulf oilfields, but perhaps even more compellingly by virtue of its inseverable links with Israel, has chosen to establish itself with virtually its entire weight on Russia's doorstep.

The Middle East is not like Germany, where there are clearly defined spheres of influence which both world powers respect. In the Middle East the interests of the one preclude the possibility of the other laying claim to an interest of any kind.

This renewed flare-up in the Middle East seems hell-bent on gaining greater momentum, so much so that serious repercussions affect all other major spheres of US-Soviet contact.

The superpowers' clash in the Middle East has influenced bilateral trade, the Salt talks, the situation in Eastern Europe and Germany, developments in Africa, sea-route rivalries and the touchy subject of China's role in world affairs.

Alongside and adding to this increase in political tension there has been a military trend that cannot be viewed sceptically enough as far as this country is concerned.

Since the late 50s America had gradually abandoned the strategic doctrines according to which a military conflict in Europe would irrevocably lead to world war.

Unfortunately this gradual change reactivated the volcano beneath the Germans. In the early 70s the gradual transition still had some way to go to its logical conclusion, but in the aftermath of 1973 US strategists increasingly considered the idea of a war that might be limited to Central Europe.

It took revolutionary innovations such as the neutron bomb and the entire arsenal of laser-targeted precision weaponry to start the ball rolling; they symbolised the change in technological terms.

Suddenly it seemed possible that a military clash would not affect the territory of the world powers themselves; indeed, they would almost surely see none of the action.

It follows that Washington and Moscow are going to be far readier to run risks. In an atmosphere of relative detente war had seemed unthinkable. Now, with tension steadily mounting, it seemed increasingly possible.

If it is a possibility, that possibility is almost certain to be put to the test. There are no grounds for supposing that the rest of the 20th century is going to be an exception to the course of the previous 8,000 years

It is not being unduly pessimistic to recall that in the past 500 years of European history peace after major wars has usually lasted 30 years or so – certainly never longer than 50 years or thereabouts.

Need one add who is principally affected by the change? It is, of course, the country in which the superpowers have chosen to concentrate their major operational units: Germany, or rather the Federal Republic and the GDR.

Limited conflict (limited to the territory of these two countries, that is) would be limited only as far as the rest of the world is concerned.

For the Federal Republic and the GDR it would be as total as a nuclear holocaust would be for everyone else.

Continued on page 3

Continued from page 1

change his only option of revising Turkey's security concept.

Any such revision would, of course, entail the collapse of Nato's south-east flank.

While the US arms embargo is upheld the Turkish premier claims the Greek Cypriots will continue to try to forestall any attempt to reach agreement as long as they feel time is on their side.

The international affairs committee of the US House of Representatives approved by a solitary vote Mr Carter's recommendation to lift the embargo, while the Senate foreign affairs committee threw the president's recommendation out by a two-to-one majority.

So the Greek lobby on Capitol Hill is as strong as ever, but, as events have shown over the past three years, Turkey is not prepared to come to terms when Washington leans on it in this way.

Under pressure Turkey tends towards fatalistic obstinacy. By this summer, Mr Ecevit has said, he intends to clarify matters this summer one way or another.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 10 May 1978)

Frankfurter Allgemeine

Compromise – Europe's unity road

The policy of European unity began with the European Council in 1949. Paul Henri Spaak said at the end of the first session: "From now on I know that the United States of Europe are possible."

These hopes proved, of course, to be hasty and premature. Then the six original members founded the European Economic Community. The notion of a federal state or a federation of states was a distant goal, and for many it becomes more and more remote the larger the community becomes. In a year's time, the first direct elections to the European Parliament will take place.

There are no historical parallels for the painful process of European unity. It is a new process and therefore requires new forms and new thinking.

The traditional categories of nation state, federation and confederation are not relevant. All too often, national egoism, the defence at all costs of narrowly national interests, is the greatest stumbling block.

The interlocking and interdependency of economies within the EEC cries out for wide economic areas to be brought under a form of central control, but precisely this stands in the way of unity: one stone sets others rolling.

This means losses on one side and profits on the other in the short term. Politicians are continually claiming credit or being called to account for this or that within the national framework. General sensitivities do not make the process of integration any easier. The founders of the German Reich, the state of Italy or even the United States of America did not have problems of this kind or degree.

Everything takes longer today, even though the task is urgent. If one regards the EEC Commission as the nucleus of a future European government, we find conservatives, Christian Democrats, Socialists, Social Democrats and Liberals.

The situation in the Council of Ministers is basically no different, except that changes here are more rapid as changes of government occur in member states.

In both bodies, consensuses constantly have to be reached despite party political differences. This is why the European Parliament has up to now tried to avoid tough confrontations.

It has not always been successful, but the tone there is not one of enmity. The climate of debate is more sober, there is more readiness to compromise than in many a national parliament. Speaking of detente at a recent meeting of the European Council in Strasbourg, Chancellor Helmut Schmidt said: "He who is not prepared to compromise is not fit for peace."

The calm and sober tone of debate could end after the direct elections. National polarisations could play a considerable part in the election campaign.

Francois Mitterand once made the much-criticised remark: "Europe will either be socialist or it will not be." Today many console themselves with the interpretation that he was expressing his belief in the socialist ideal, not announcing his refusal to cooperate with those of a different political persuasion.

No-one has yet said that Europe will have to be conservative or Christian or else it will not be. The answer to Mitterand is that Europe will have to be "pluralistic."

The Christian Democrat MPs in the European Parliament, and the German Christian Democrats there in particular, will be faced with deciding what their response to the European Democratic Union should be. This organisation, of Christian Democrats, Conservatives and Gaullists, is not an absolute necessity. There has been close cooperation between Christian Democrat MPs and their right-wing neighbours within the European Parliament for some time.

As for cooperation between Christian Democratic parties both inside and outside the EEC, there are the European Council and the European Union of Christian Democrat Parties. *Ernst Kobbert*

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 9 May 1978)

The German Tribune

Publisher: Friedrich Reinecke, Editor-in-Chief: Otto Heinz. Editor: Alexander Anthony. — Distribution Manager: Georgine von Platen. Advertising Manager: Peter Boeckmann.

Friedrich Reinecke Verlag GmbH, 23 Schoene Aussicht, Hamburg 76, Tel.: 22 85 1. Telex: 02 14733. Bonn bureau: 65 Adenauerallee, 53 Bonn, Tel., 21 90 00. Telex: 08 86398.

Advertising rates list No. 12 – Annual subscription DM 35.

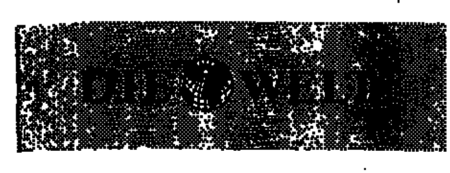
Printed by Krögers Buch- und Verlagsdruckerei, Hamburg-Blankenese. Distributed in the USA by: MASS MAILINGS, Inc. 540 West 24th Street, New York, N.Y. 10011.

All articles which THE GERMAN TRIBUNE reprints are published in cooperation with the editorial staffs of leading newspapers of the Federal Republic of Germany. They are complete translations of the original text, in no way abridged nor editorially redrafted. THE GERMAN TRIBUNE also publishes quarterly supplements featuring articles selected from German periodicals.

In all correspondence please quote your subscription number which appears on the wrapper, between asterisks, above your address.

■ HOME AFFAIRS

SPD views Brezhnev visit with hope and caution



The SPD leadership's judgement of Leonid Brezhnev's recent visit to this country is a mixture of statesmanlike caution and optimism.

It is hoped that the new friendlier tone between Moscow and Bonn will improve the situation in Berlin, so often a crisis point in the past. At the leaders' meeting in Berlin Helmut Schmidt was in a better mood than seen in a long time.

On the other hand the official communique contains very little on Berlin, apart from the five-year-old Brandt-Brezhnev formula of "strict observance and application" of the Berlin agreement.

Sources say the brief mention does not correspond to the part Berlin played in the talks between Schmidt and Brezhnev, even though the subject was never a central theme.

The heads of government analysed particular disputes between them and came near to a clear definition of the room for manoeuvre. The "demonstrative" journeys of parliamentary parties to Berlin, described by critics as "polit-tourism", were discussed, as were the federal offices in the city, its place in the EEC and the fact that Berlin mayor Stobbe is shortly to take his turn as head of the Bundesrat.

The optimistic view that Berlin will not suffer as a result of this kind of federal and European presence is based on two arguments. Firstly, the Bonn government's promise in future to consider "even more closely" questions of utility and political opportuneness in using the Berlin agreement, that is, the section which refers to West Berlin's ties with the Federal Republic of Germany.

Secondly, the "optimistic assessment" by Leonid Brezhnev that in these circumstances Berlin can be "increasingly" brought in to the process of detente.

As the planned German-Soviet agreements on cultural exchanges, legal aid and scientific and technological cooperation have not yet been signed because Moscow strongly objects to West Berlin being included in them, it remains to be seen whether the Soviet Union will demonstrate its desire for detente in this area.

Brezhnev's visit to Bonn at least removed two serious causes of concern. The Soviet Union has decided to do no more than protest strongly against Berlin taking part in the direct elections to the European Parliament and Dietrich Stobbe taking over the presidency of the Bundesrat in November this year.

Brezhnev's experts said Moscow did not object to Berlin's economic ties with the EEC, but it seriously objected to what it saw as attempts to bring Berlin into the political union of Europe and thereby achieve what the Four Power agreement forbade; direct political ties with Bonn.

The decisive factor here was not Berlin taking part in the election – the system would be the same as that by which Berlin sends MPs to the Bundestag – but that Berlin MPs in the European Parliament had full voting rights within the Federal Republic of Germany's contingent.

The Soviet Union will be keeping a close watch on Stobbe's term as Bundesrat president, especially as it coincides with the election of the President. Stobbe will be acting President during the elections and, as Bundesrat president, will be playing a de facto constitutional role in the Federal Republic of Germany – to a certain extent a contravention of the Four Power Agreement saying that Berlin is not governed from Bonn.

Here, too, SPD parliamentary leader Herbert Wehner rightly expects severe criticism from the Soviet Union, even though the agreement makes it clear that "current practice" is being confirmed in this respect.

It is possible that the Soviets got a clearer picture of the situation and arrived at a better understanding of Bonn's intentions during the visit.

Herbert Wehner's concern in an interview with the Cologne newspaper *Express* at difficulties which could arise during Stobbe's presidency of the Bundesrat in the autumn does not help. If there were voices urging Stobbe to renounce it for the sake of peace over Berlin, to this could lead a decision gravely affecting the ties between Berlin and the Federal Republic of Germany.

Friedhelm Kemna

(Die Welt, 10 May 1978)

Continued from page 2

since the destructive potential and firepower of even mini-nukes and the like in an urban environment such as Germany's would leave not one stone standing on another within a fortnight.

German policymakers have yet to frame an answer to this change in situation over the past few years. But they cannot afford to wait much longer.

The overall effect of all these new facts is that Germany's security deficit is growing steadily larger and more dangerous.

Military means are no longer sufficient to bridge the gap; only political ones hold forth the prospect of improvement.

A determined search for such a prospect would be far worthier of the blood, sweat, toil and tears of every politician in this country than the domestic power struggle to which they devote themselves so avidly that they hardly have time anymore for a swift glance at the darkening international horizon.

What direction ought our deliberations to take? It would be fine if we were able to play an effective part in keeping Third World rivalries in check. Every effort should certainly be made.

But unfortunately our opportunities of influencing the Israelis, the Arabs, the Africans, the Russians and the Americans are extremely limited.

This is why it is probably more important to try to erect a firescreen between Central Europe and trouble spots elsewhere.

We can but resist, stubbornly, any attempt to involve us either directly or indirectly in controversies overseas (and such attempts have unquestionably been made in the past by Nato military men).

Our interest lies in a different direction. The more the world's other trouble spots sizzle, the more important it is for Europe to emerge as a zone of peace.

We, for instance, have not the slightest interest in fostering an explosive situation in the countries of Eastern Europe.

We cannot afford to wage war (or allow war to be waged) in Europe to relieve political pressure in other parts of the world.

To add Central and East European trouble spots to the friction and instability that exist elsewhere would be tantamount to suicide.

Eventually the whole range of international political disputes would be magnetically attracted to the troop concentration in Central Europe, leading to warfare in this country.

The outcome would not be greater freedom in the communist countries but, more probably, mass graves on both sides of the Iron Curtain.

Instead of joining the campaigns in which the world powers have often sought to involve the small fry for reasons of their own, we ought to be turning our attention to the area in which we exercise real influence: Western Europe.

On their own the Germans are unlikely to succeed in escaping their fate. Only by joining forces with France, which has increasingly come to be our major ally, and with other friendly European countries can Germany hope to avoid being overrun.

At a time when many of our neighbours are shaken by crises, this call for Eurocentric foreign policies may not seem appropriate. Yet it is as urgently needed now as it was in the days of Konrad Adenauer.

The dangers he saw on the horizon are now overhead. Our first concern ought to be to restore stable conditions in neighbouring countries to the south and west. Unrest there deprives us of our major prop.

And we can assuredly make a major contribution towards this if we only demonstrate both readiness to lend a hand and tact and understanding.

We must not aim at lending support to trials of strength, confrontations and polarisation in the Latin countries. That would merely lead to further fragmentation of Western Europe, which could at most hope to assume the role of a military breastwork.

We can but hope for mediation, agreement and consensus. Then, and then only, can Western Europe hope to regain its vitality and power of self-assertion and thus pursue its own vital interests.

The Old World must come to realise that its very survival is at stake, not just its political influence. This realisation might just mobilise forces that have hitherto refused to be moved.

They must, moreover, be mobilised in all sectors – political, diplomatic, military and economic – and in all directions. Europe's aim must be to be no-one's battlefield. *Dieter Cycon*

(Deutsche Zeitung, 5 May 1978)

Talks benefit lies in new understanding

Three lengthy documents record the results of Leonid Brezhnev's recent visit to Bonn: only those who had unrealistically high expectations will be disappointed at them.

Exaggerated expectations of this kind are symptomatic of a complete misjudgment of the present political situation.

Before the Soviet party leader and head of state arrived in Bonn on Ascension Day, the creation of a mood of greater understanding and trust between the two states had been mentioned as an important element in the discussions.

The main achievements of this visit is that both sides have got to know each other better, to assess and analyse points of view and see that both in Moscow and in Bonn policies are pursued with great seriousness and a high sense of responsibility.

There the talk between Brezhnev and CSU leader Strauss is of great importance. That the talks took place at all indicates the enormous importance of personal contacts between the leading politicians of our world.

If a man of the temperament and disposition of the CSU leader says he is deeply impressed by his talks with the Soviet head of state and, furthermore, praises their value and utility, this proves that perhaps a bridge can be built between positions considered irreconcilable.

Despite these flashes of light, there is no cause for euphoria over German-Soviet relations. Indeed euphoria is a hindrance. One must see relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Soviet Union in sober terms, as two unequal partners agreeing on the terms of a contract.

Both states have taken up a number of positions from which they cannot budge. Yet both sides have intentions and goals which overlap. It is where interests coincide that agreement occurs and can be formulated in pacts.

However, this process cannot be completed overnight; it can only be completed gradually, as mutual trust grows. The strict observance of current agreements creates trust and this leads to further steps to agreement.

These are the terms in which the Bonn agreement should be seen — the 25 year economic cooperation agreement, the declaration and the final communique. We will now have to see how closely our partner in Moscow sticks to the agreement and if his interpretation of its clauses is identical with ours.

There are a number of aspects of German-Soviet relations which will give a good indication of how seriously the Soviet assurances are to be taken: Berlin and humanitarian questions, for example.

But neither of these aspects should be overestimated. They have to be seen in terms of world-wide detente. Given the present constellations in world politics, relations between this country and the Soviet Union are hardly likely to be much better than those between Moscow and Washington.

Coexistence between nations is certainly not easy, but it must be peaceful and reasonable. The talks in Bonn and Hamburg and the agreements are a contribution towards this.

Dietrich Ide

(Bremer Nachrichten, 8 May 1978)

■ POLITICS

Gustav Stresemann: politician of European reconciliation



Gustav Stresemann

The 100th anniversary on 10 May of Gustav Stresemann's birth evokes memories of a German politician whose significance for his country and international politics can only be compared with two other German politicians of the past one hundred years: Otto von Bismarck, founder of the German Reich in 1871, and Konrad Adenauer, the first Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany. At his death in October 1929, at the age of 51, Germany was faced with the question of how the Weimar Republic, beset with problems, would manage to shape its political future without him.

At the time of his birth, no-one would have expected that Gustav Stresemann, youngest son of a Berlin innkeeper and beer dealer, would hold the destiny of the German Republic in his hands at the age of 45.

He owed his political career only to talent and political performance and not to circumstances.

He studied economics in Berlin and Leipzig, graduating with a doctorate.

At the age of 22, Stresemann became a functionary of a Saxony trade association, rising swiftly.

In 1902, he become the chief administrator of the Association of Saxon Industrialists. His imaginativeness and powers of rhetoric virtually destined him for a career in politics, and at the end of 1902 he joined the National Liberal Party.

In the 1907 Reichstag elections, Stresemann was voted into parliament.

Aged 29, he was the youngest member of the Reichstag, embodying the type of MP increasingly entering parliament from the turn of the century: the association functionary for whom politics was the actual raison d'etre.

The economist Stresemann soon found himself in the vanguard of the National Liberals in the Reichstag, promoted by party chairman Ernst Bassermann, who sensed the political power inherent in Stresemann.

After Bassermann's death in 1917, Stresemann became the floor leader of the National Liberals in the Reichstag.

He was faced with a major political decision immediately after the collapse of the empire, on the threshold of the Weimar Republic.

After the left-liberal wing of the Democratic Party felt that Stresemann, who had promoted nationalism during World War 1, would impose too much of a burden, he founded his own party, the German People's Party, within days.

Initially, Stresemann viewed the republic with scepticism. In its early stages, from 1920 to 1923, he held one of the most important parliamentary posts as chairman of the foreign affairs committee.

A monarchist at heart, he experienced the painful process of politics in Germany during a time of deep material and political malaise. The republic was the heir of the monarchist defeat and thus of the Versailles Treaty, with its unjust territorial annexations and its economically senseless reparation payments.

Little by little, Stresemann moved from opposition politician (which was out of keeping with his personality) to day-to-day policy-making, using his parliamentary position as a vehicle and becoming a republican out of a sense of pragmatism.

On 11 January 1923, French and Belgian troops occupied the Ruhr area. Germany resorted to passive resistance on the part of the people in the Rhine and Ruhr regions. But this resistance could not be sustained for more than a few months.

The economic sacrifices were too great and the currency was in the vortex of inflation. The government under Chancellor Wilhelm Cuno had no option but to resign.

Stresemann seemed the only politician capable of forming a government that could master the desperate situation.

His was a grand coalition encompassing the whole political spectrum from the Social Democrats to the German People's Party. The passive resistance was discontinued on 25 September 1923.

National Socialists and other rightist elements termed him a traitor to the fatherland. He was threatened with assassination like the republican politicians Matthias Erzberger and Walter Rathenau.

The 1923 crisis reached a climax with communist uprisings in Saxony and Thuringia, rightist radical putsch attempts in Pommerania, Brandenburg and Silesia and separatist intrigues in the Rhine area. This culminated in the Munich Hitler putsch of 8 and 9 November.

The strain overtaxed the coalition government and Stresemann was toppled in the Reichstag debate of 23 November 1923, ending his 100-day Chancellorship.

Although Gustav Stresemann foundered as a Chancellor, the abolishment of passive resistance paved the way to negotiations, and it was almost natural that Stresemann should be asked to accept the post of Foreign Minister – an office which he held until his untimely death in the autumn of 1929.

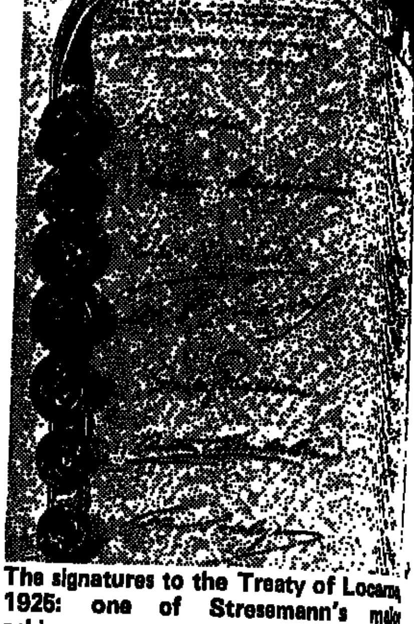
Stresemann's determination to reach negotiated settlements and his foreign policy concept of overcoming the pressure of constant ultimatums and sanctions through active conciliation rather than passive compliance were successful in two areas: in reparations, an issue settled through the Dawes Plan, and in the seemingly insoluble issue of Franco-German reconciliation.

Through perseverance, Stresemann succeeded in making a decisive contribution towards political reconciliation in Europe, culminating in the Treaty of Locarno of 16 October 1925. In his efforts he met with understanding on the part of France's Foreign Minister Aristide Briand and Britain's Foreign Minister Neville Chamberlain.

The essence of the Treaty of Locarno was the guaranteed inviolability of the borders between Germany, France and Belgium. Germany had to forgo claims to Alsace-Lorraine, while France relinquished all claims to the Rhine and Ruhr areas.

Another important element of Stresemann's policy of reconciliation was Germany's admission to the League of Nations in 1926.

The rapprochement between the wartime enemies Germany and France was the work of Stresemann and his French opposite number, Briand, both of whom were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.



The signatures to the Treaty of Locarno, 1925: one of Stresemann's major achievements. (Photos: Histori[illegible])

On 9 September 1926, Aristide Briand, addressing the League of Nations, welcomed the new member with the following words: "Today signals peace for Germany and France. This means that the series of bloody and painful conflicts that have filled the annals of history have come to an end."

At home, both Stresemann and Briand were subjected to severe criticism. Briand was accused of gullibility, while German nationalists called Stresemann an incorrigible "give-away politician".

But Stresemann stuck to his concept even when the favourable effects of his Locarno and League of Nations policy failed to materialise, realising that there could be no alternative to reconciliation.

The critically ill politician did not live to see the first fruits of his work. He died on 3 October 1929.

The political creed of Gustav Stresemann can best be summed up in the words he spoke at the League of Nations a few weeks before his death: "Why should the idea of combining what European states have in common and what can unify them be impossible? Where is the European coin and where the European postage stamp? I reject ideas that view an economic union of the European states as utopian. Instead, I consider it my duty to work towards that goal. Ours is the task of bringing nations closer to each other."

This is indicative of the development which made Stresemann an active advocate of Europe, a man who realised that the only chance for the old continent lay in a rapprochement of nations.

(Kieler Nachrichten, 9 May 1978)

New works on the man and his times

A number of works commemorating the 100th anniversary of Gustav Stresemann's birth have been or will be published this year.

The personality and policies of the National Liberal politician deserve not only the interest of historians and political scientists, who have many more documents available to them today than after his death 50 years ago, but also that of the public. Stresemann was the first German statesman who thought in European terms, despite – or perhaps because of – his nationalist attitude during the Kaiser era.

Karl D. Erdmann and Martin Vogt, *Akten der Reichskanzlei, Weimarer Republik. Die Kabinette Stresemann I/II (1923)*, Harald Boldt Verlag, to be published in early autumn 1978, two volumes, approx. 1,400 pages. DM160.

The small Stresemann volume commissioned by Inter Nationes, with its photographs and cartoons, carries an introduction by State Minister Dr Hildegard Hamm-Brücher and the politician's son, Wolfgang Stresemann.

A comprehensive biography has been provided by Professor Felix Hirsch, who has first-hand experience of Stresemann's work.

Warts and all, Professor Hirsch presents a convincing picture of the man, his beliefs and his successes.

Stresemann's major political views are documented by his speeches and publications. The small volume, well worth reading, is rounded off by comments from his contemporaries.

An advance printing with a preface, an introduction and a list of documents draws attention to the forthcoming publication of files of the Weimar Republic Chancellery during Stresemann's 100-day chancellorship.

The detailed introduction provides excellent insights into the problems of his two coalition governments from August to November 1923, shedding light on the problems that confronted the Weimar Republic of the time.

Gustav Stresemann 1878–1978, Berlin Verlag in cooperation with Inter Nationes, Bonn, 1978, 152 pages. DM18.80.

Party politics imposed a heavy burden on Cabinet politics. Thus, for instance, Streesemann had to defend himself against a genuine "stab in the back" because, as in the case of Bavaria, "the rightists considered themselves the guardians of the Holy Grail of national identity, stabbing the Government in the back when it was fighting to preserve national intrests in the Ruhr area."

Chancellor Stresemann foundered at home, but the Foreign Minister Stresemann shaped national *realpolitik* towards East and West for the remainder of his life.

(Das Parlament, 6 May 1978)

■ TERRORISM

Court-appointed counsel unhappy over 'second-class status'

Controversy has surrounded court-appointed defence counsel in terrorist trials and lawyers are sceptical over whether an amendment to the criminal procedure code will prevent them being regarded as second-class lawyers.

That the independence of court-appointed counsel has been gravely called in question over the past three years is due to a "brilliant idea" conceived in the Baden-Württemberg Ministry of Justice, where someone decided that the court-appointed lawyers in the Baader-Meinhof trial should sit near the state prosecutors, well away from the defendants and their chosen lawyers. The purpose was to prevent the lawyers being attacked by the defendants.

This created the impression among observers in court that the counsel, who had been nominated against the will of Andreas Baader, Gudrun Ensslin, Ulrike Meinhof and Jan Carl Raspe, had very little to do with the defence of the four leaders of the Red Army Faction, especially as their contribution in the early stages of the trial was negligible.

By the time they did speak in defence of their clients, they had long since gained a reputation for being overpaid "dumb lawyers". In a reference to their proximity to the prosecutors in the courtroom, they were even accused by their clients and some of their defence



counsel of being mere helpmates of the state apparatus.

Although this description is unfair in view of their forceful defence of their clients' interests in the closing stages of the trial, these court-appointees have become known as "compulsory defence counsel" in all terrorist trials since then.

This is not all. They have recently been called upon to "apply to be released from the defence and if necessary to quit the trial without the court's approval."

This call, which comes from the left-wing Berlin Defence Counsel Association, is based on the argument that taking on such a case is incompatible with a lawyer's professional code of conduct: "A lawyer who accepts a brief as *Pflichtverteidiger* against the will of the accused, although lawyers of the defendant's choice are available, is acting unprofessionally."

It is undisputed that every accused has the right to a lawyer of his choice. Yet the lawyers nominated against the will of the defendants in terrorist and other major criminal trials do not take the place of chosen defence counsel. They act alongside them.

The fact that they sometimes upset or spoil their colleagues' defence strategy is not their fault. If the defendants' lawyers did not all to often ignore them and treat them as "second class lawyers" they would certainly be quite prepared to hold back, provided this did not involve the dragging out of the case or frustration of the course of justice.

This is where Erich Schmidt-Leichner, an outspoken opponent of the concept of the *Pflichtverteidiger*, draws the line: "Those who try to frustrate the course of justice or are in connivance with their clients do not belong to us."

Schmidt-Leichner knows only too well that this statement is not enough in itself. But he and the rest of his profession are prepared to let the courts decide who the black sheep are.

Klaus Croissant in Stuttgart and Kurt Groenwold in Hamburg are now on trial for complicity with their clients; the trials of their colleagues Arnd Müller and Armin Newerla have not yet started, so it is impossible to say what the outcome will be.

The results of these trials will show whether the widespread suspicion of lawyers in terrorist trials was justified and whether the searching of defence counsel were really necessary.

Defence counsel can now be required to unzip their trousers to prove than they are not smuggling in objects to their clients. The Federal Constitutional Court has approved this measure, and although there have been massive protests against it, many prominent lawyers admit that it is preferable to the glass wall between counsel and clients in the Drenkmann-Lorenz trial in Berlin.

Despite precautions, some of the accused in this, the second largest terrorist trial after Baader-Meinhof, still managed to attack their *Pflichtverteidiger.*

Three lawyers then requested to be released from their duty to defend their clients. This is perfectly understandable. In general, judges, prosecutors and appointed counsel are subject to abuse in terrorist trials, but this cannot be accepted as a reason for giving up.

In cases where defence counsel are physically attacked by their clients, however, it seems appropriate to allow the lawyer to stand down because he can no longer defend his client free of all prejudice.

It is vital that appointed lawyers should not be prejudiced against their clients, otherwise a fair trial cannot be guaranteed. They play an indispensable role, because only their presence guarantees that the trial does not come to an end when the lawyers of the defendants' choice are excluded.

This is why it is essential that the appointee does not just sit on the substitute's bench waiting to be called in. He must take an active part in the trial from the beginning. Then he will not have to wait until the late stages to prove that he is an adequate substitute. This also means that courts must not only choose lawyers of their liking to act as counsel. *Henning Frank*

(Deutsche Zeitung, 5 May 1978)

Dutch legal decision clears way for extradition of three

It will be several weeks before the three alleged German terrorists now serving prision sentences in the Netherlands are extradited to this country. The Justice Minister in the Hague has to give his approval and the three prisoners still have a right of appeal.

But the decision by the Dutch Supreme Council is an important step to extradition. All the legal aspects have now been dealt with.

The Dutch authorities are treating the three alleged terrorists as criminals. They do not accept any military or political motivation for their crimes. This is an important precondition for extradition.

The Dutch regard Knut Folkerts' alleged participation in the kidnapping of Schleyer as politically motivated and therefore not a ground for extradition. This contradicts the German view, but it does not harm the German legal case as the list of other crimes on German soil of which Folkerts is accused is long enough.

The Dutch Ministry of Justice will now have to consider whether it is politically opportune to hand Knut Folkerts, Christoph Wackernagel and Gert Schneider over to the German authorities.

If they were extradited, the Dutch might well heave a sigh of relief and be glad to be rid of them. On the other hand, acts of revenge by terrorists cannot be ruled out.

Whatever happens, it is unlikely that the Dutch will be spared terrorist attacks in the future. Even if the three remain in the Netherlands, the danger of an attempt to free them is ever-present.

The reaction by the Federal Republic of Germany to the decision by the Dutch Supreme Council is one of satisfaction. The German authorities do not rest in attempting to bring to justice all terrorists who have committed crimes on German soil. The list of suspects is now as long as the catalogue of crimes they have committed – bank robberies and kidnappings, extortion and murder, to name but a few.

The risk of acts of terror is as high as ever here and it will increase as more terrorists are arrested and turned over to the law. But a state based on the rule of law such as the Federal Republic of Germany must use every legal means at its disposal. It must not ease up simply because some of the terrorists seem to have disappeared off the face of the earth.

Nor should the state accept the fact that these terrorists are serving sentences in other countries as a reason for not pursuing proceedings against them.

Any softening in the state's attitude could have calamitous consequences. It would be a serious blow to its credibility. Politicians, security officials and courts will be tried just as hard as the patience of the population until such time as the evil of terrorism has been eliminated.

International assistance and cooperation between states is helpful and indispensable. The terrorists' strategy is international and any state on its own can only have limited success.

The Netherlands and the Federal Republic of Germany have both felt the scourge of terrorism. Cooperation between them could provide another positive example of the fact that international frontiers are no longer a security factor for terrorists. *Wolf Ullmann*

(Kieler Nachrichten, 9 May 1978)



Knut Folkerts



Gert Schneider



Christoph Wackernagel (Photo: dpa)

■ MARKETING

Spirits industry acts to protect German drinkers

The reputation of the French spirits industry is so unassailable that Germans are prepared to buy its products blindfold, given attractive packaging and a picture of Napoleon.

"With a picture of Napoleon you can sell virtually anything on the brandy market," says attorney Gaedert of the Protective Association of the Spirits Industry in Wiesbaden.

He has the difficult task of protecting German distillers from some 150 foreign pseudo-brandies which deceive the German consumer through misleading claims and by circumventing the 1971 wine legislation.

The law stipulates that "wine brandy" is a general term for all spirits distilled from wine.

Terms like "brandy" or "quality brandy made of wine" are very clearly defined by the lawmakers.

If the label says "wine brandy blend", the consumer should know that, apart from a minimum 10 per cent spirits distilled from wine, the bottle contains other types of alcohol.

Caution is also indicated over bottles packaged like cognac and bearing the fine print notice "flavoured drinking brandy".

Here the consumer is faced with a mixture of spirits and water which, though not poisonous, can cause a whacking headache in spite of its high price tag.

"The term "gold wine brandy" can also be misleading if applied to spirits coloured like genuine brandy. The bottle can contain either a wine brandy blend or blended brandy.

The Federal Supreme Court has ruled that quality and age designations are impermissible and misleading in the case of blends.

In a ruling of 11 January 1978, the Karlsruhe court prohibited the sale of a "French wine brandy made of substances other than wine under the label 'Napoleon' and 'Royal d'Or' bearing the picture of Napoleon."

Germany's wine distillers are also forced to defend their market share in court because the German spirits market is stagnating. Growth cannot offset the disadvantage caused by unfair competition.

Wine brandy and cognac account for 24 per cent of the German spirits market, followed by grain brandy with 21 per cent, other colourless brandies with 7 per cent, whisky 6 per cent, rum 13 per cent, cordials 18 per cent, fruit brandy two per cent and others 9 per cent.

Though the so-called Spanish brandy tide is making headlines in the trade journals, this country's wine brandy market is still firmly under German control. Cognac and armagnac account for only 7 per cent of sales.

The increase in the German spirits taxes at the beginning of 1977 played havoc with the saturated liquor market. Sales of wine brandy fell by close to 30 per cent (to 118 million 0.7 litre bottles).

The turnover of the 47 organised wine distillers dropped by 25 per cent to DM1,298 million.

This will endanger more than 2,000 jobs unless this industry takes defensive action.

France, for instance, arbitrarily imposes a special tax of 390 francs per 100 litres of pure alcohol.

Its discriminatory action against Scotch is even more pronounced: France has imposed a ban on advertising Scotch, regardless of the fact that more than 75 per cent of the cognac production is sold abroad.



Which brandy? The German spirits industry is fighting to protect local distillers and consumers against some 150 pseudo-brandies which deceive by misleading claims.
(Photo: Marianne von der Lancken)

The export quota of German wine distillers, on the other hand, amounts to a mere 1.6 per cent – hardly worth mentioning.

Only the Rüdesheim "Spirit of Wine" (Asbach Uralt) has a definite place on foreign markets.

But even its advertising claim of "At Home in all Countries" applies only to 20 of the world's 120 countries.

Even so, word has got around at Hongkong's The Peninsula hotel, Scotland's Gleneagles and New York's Waldorf Astoria that German brandy might well be older, better and kinder on the stomach than many a cognac concocted for unwary consumers abroad.

Asbach Uralt's advertising abroad says there are magic powers at work in Rüdesheim that "enlighten the spirit and lend courage to the heart."

Slogans like this are usually effective if used extensively.

The Asbach Uralt's German competitors also dream of Gleneagles or the Waldorf Astoria, but they would actually be quite happy if they could conquer

Continued on page 7

Will consumers bite at new fish catches?

German fish lovers will have to change their eating habits as old favourites like cod and red grouper, not to mention the herring, become increasingly scarce.

The future belongs to less popular fish such as mackerel and to hitherto unknown species like caplin.

Consumers will have to come to terms with smaller fillets of about 100 to 120 grammes or eat whole fish.

The reason is the exhaustion of herring stocks and the new Law of the Sea with its 200-mile economic zones.

Old and productive fishing grounds have thus been closed to many fleets.

Political disputes are largely responsible for the West German fishing industry facing a crisis it can hardly overcome on its own, and the state once more needs to lend a hand.

The nine members of the European Community decided in October 1977 to combine their economic zones, forming a Community sea to be exploited jointly. The arrangement includes the Greenland area.

It has also been agreed not to conclude bilateral fishing agreements with non-EEC countries, all arrangements to fall under the jurisdiction of Brussels.

But Brussels was faced with another dispute among Community members over catch quotas in the EEC sea.

These arrangements are necessary to put an end to over-fishing. But since the parties were unable to dissuade Britain from claiming a special 50-mile zone for its own fishing industry, a common EEC fisheries policy failed to materialise.

At least the Community agreed to apply the fisheries regulations worked out jointly on a national basis.

German fishermen cannot complain about the Brussels quota of 217,000 tons for certain traditional species since this exceeds the quantities originally envisaged.

"Even so," says a fishing industry spokesman, "offshore fisheries will still only cover half of their requirements."

Even agreements between the Community and Norway and the Faroe Islands, granting Germany an additional 40,000 to 50,000 tons a year, are only a drop in the ocean.

Major fish resources such as those of Iceland, off whose coast much of the cod used to be caught, closed their waters entirely to European Community fleets.

The Soviets refuse to recognise the Community as a negotiating party and are therefore unwilling to sign an agreement — especially one with a Berlin clause.

Moreover, fishing for herring in the EEC sea has been totally banned in practice. Since the spring of 1977, bans have been extended periodically in order to preserve the stock. Herring on the market now is mostly imported.

The traditional species are becoming scarce, but the consumer wants his fish, and the fishing industry needs work. The only way out is the promotion of new species.

But this is a difficult task and causes a great many headaches. There are, for instance, processing problems. Industry must buy filleting machines for smaller species, but the first three plants for caplin will not be in use until the spring of 1979 – a year too late.

A major question is how to get the consumer to buy the new type of fish. Caplin is presented by the promoters as a cod-like, though smaller, white-fleshed fish.

Similar problems exist with herring which are to be replaced by their southern relatives: smaller, sardine-like fish such as pilchard and sardinella.

The name herringfish is favoured as a general term encompassing these species.

Despite the close relation of these fish to the traditional herring it will take costly advertising campaigns to accustom buyers to the new fare.

It is estimated that an additional DM20 million a year in promotion money will be needed for three years.

The fishing industry wants the state to subsidise the change-over — and not only the advertising.

The fleet owners want subsidies for catching the less-known species and for the temporary mothballing of vessels.

Offshore fishermen estimate that the fleet will have to be reduced by five

Continued on page 8



Bringing in the catch: shrinking fishing grounds have forced German fishermen to try to market less popular species.
(Photo: Conti-Press)

■ TRADE

Currency Exchange looks back on 25 vital years

The 4th of May marked an important anniversary for the German Currency Exchange: 25 years ago on the day it began quoting official foreign exchange rates after a 22-year break.

Only four currencies were quoted then: the French and the Belgian francs, the Dutch guilder and the Swiss "clearing franc."

This was followed by other currencies like the British pound, worth DM 11.66 at that time, and the "free dollar" at an exchange rate of DM 4.20.

At that time, five years before German currency became freely convertible, the world distinguished between soft currencies, which included the European currencies, and convertible hard currencies such as the US and Canadian dollars and the "free" Swiss franc.

Trading between hard and soft currencies was prohibited. The dollar was internationally the top currency, and the Americans used it to buy "soft" deutschemarks of the categories "liberalised capital mark" and "restricted convertible deutschemark" at cheaper than official rates.

These long-forgotten terms bear witness to the foreign exchange control measures with which the Federal Republic of Germany felt it had to protect its meagre foreign exchange reserves, the young republic having only two years earlier been one of the structural deficit countries and having seriously contemplated devaluing the deutschemark.

Today, the dollar exchange rate has dwindled to less than half and the pound to less than one-third of former values.

The deutschemark has developed into the second most important reserve currency, which until recently attracted international capital apprehensive of the weak dollar.

All this is reflected in the 25 year history of the German Currency Exchange.

These years also mark a quarter century in which German monetary and foreign exchange policy — apart from a few short periods — has constantly battled with foreign trade imbalances.

The Federal Republic has been confronted time and again — and not only under the Bretton-Woods system of fixed exchange rates, abolished in 1973 — with the question: to revalue or not to revalue, to abolish or not to abolish a monetary policy guided by the necessities of the domestic market.

The term "imported inflation" became a catchphrase as far back as the mid-50s. And from 1955 to 1957, permanent balance of payments surpluses were a bugbear of German monetary policy, leading to international tensions. The first revaluation speculation was rife in 1957.

But at that time businessmen and politicians adamantly opposed such a move. The catchphrase that a healthy currency should not undergo surgery in favour of an ailing one made the rounds then, as it still does.

Monetary plicymakers at the Bundesbank lived on the illusion that they could achieve the impossible.

This country has been confronted with these situations time and again since the late 50s. It was exposed to tidal waves of foreign exchange attracted by the ever-stronger deutschemark.

This development was already promoted not only by the different inflation rates of the Federal Republic and other countries but also by lack of faith in the dollar.

The dollar shortage had become a thing of the past, replaced by a dollar surplus which has created havoc on foreign exchange markets over and over again, including this year.

It is not surprising that the Federal Republic regularly becomes a target of speculative capital inflow.

Despite occasional revaluations, the deutschemark has remained underrated due to high and chronic balance of payments surpluses. To put it another way, the underrating of the deutschemark produced current account surpluses.

As much as German business profited from the underrated deutschemark, this also made it excessively dependent on exports.

Industry established production capacities which can no longer be fully used because of the present more realistic or, indeed, too high, exchange rate for the deutschemark.

Some structurally faulty developments from which the country is suffering today could have been prevented by adequate and timely adjustments of the exchange rate.

Since the transition to floating currencies in 1973 (without which the foreign exchange markets would never have coped with the quadrupling of oil prices), the Bundesbank has overcome many of its former problems, though its monetary policy still has to take into account the foreign exchange market.

Fortunately for the Bundesbank, the present overrating of the deutschemark has a stabilising effect on prices.

Claus Dertinger

(Die Welt, 5 May 1978)

Protectionism: Lambsdorff's stern warning

Nordwest-Zeitung

Economic Affairs Minister Otto Graf Lambsdorff meant every word of his warning against protectionism at the EEC Foreign Ministers' conference in Brussels.

The warning is an expression of the federal government's unease over the efforts of certain members to protect their national economies by import restrictions and quotas for goods from non-member states.

Understandable as such measures might seem in times of crisis, they represent a danger for the development of the EEC towards political and economic union.

In many talks with member governments Bonn has always stressed the dangers of such a short-sighted and essentially ineffectual policy.

But this has evidently gone unheeded, which led to the spectacular public warning in Brussels.

Not only is protectionism at odds with the Community's principles of free trade, it also violates Gatt agreements.

One cannot, on the eve of the first direct elections to a European Parliament, pay lip service to a united Europe while reducing this Europe's chances in international trade.

It is primarily domestic reasons which have induced some EEC governments to violate these principles. But the Community as a whole cannot tolerate such individual actions without jeopardising itself.

Wolfgang Fechner

(Nordwest Zeitung, 3 May 1978)

Continued from page 6

some of the export markets through middle-class pubs in Holland, Belgium or Britain.

It is rumoured at the Wine Distillers Association that a campaign to do this is being prepared. The export business will in future be vital for Germany's wine distillers.

Until the end of World War II, wine brandy was considered a luxury item by Germany's wine distillers.

But with the *Wirtschaftswunder*, brandy consumption skyrocketed.

In 1938, a skilled industrial worker had to work seven hours and 16 minutes to buy a 0.7 litre bottle of wine brandy. Today, it takes him only 60 minutes.

But alcohol consumption in Germany has reached its limit with close to 12 litres of pure alcohol per person a year (28 per cent of is consumed in spirits).

Beer accounts for 50.9 per cent, wine for 16.9 per cent and sparkling wine for 4.2 per cent.

According to the Munich IFO Institute, per capita consumption of spirits (7 litres in 1970, 8.6 litres in 1977 and 7 litres at present) will no longer increase.

But there will always be drinking fads to benefit manufacturers with the foresight to get on the bandwagon.

At present, a grain-apple brandy is "in" in some parts of West Germany, while elsewhere low-alcohol milk cordials are the big hit.

Burkhart Salchow

(Deutsche Zeitung, 5 May 1978)

Bonn strives to fend off tax relief debate

Democracy is a difficult form of government: politics takes place in the marketplace, and that is good. Events are more open and visible than in countries where governments do not have to take the mood of the people into account.

But woe betide the government that interferes in the public debate. Its views are interpreted by the people as an announcement rather than an opinion. As a result, the government has to carefully consider what it may say and what it should keep to itself.

The latest example is the proposal by this country's major economic research institutes that taxes be reduced.

In their spring report, the economists suggested an across-the-board five per cent tax relief to stimulate the economy.

This has met with opposition. Heinz-Oskar Vetter, general secretary of the Trade Union Confederation, told a May Day rally in Essen, mincing no words, that the economists had acted as the stooges of business. A reduction of corporate tax, he said, would only provide relief for business, boosting profits.

The trade unions do not believe that added profits would be used for investment and thus more jobs and this is also one reason why they oppose moderation in their wage policy.

Bonn also opposes the idea of tax relief.

Economic Affairs Minister Otto Graf Lambsdorff has made it clear that any discussion of new tax relief is meaningless at this point.

Finance Minister Hans Matthöfer said the budget could not cope with an additional cut in revenue, and the Chancellor himself said at a May Day rally that the present booster measures had to be given time to take effect. It was premature to discuss new plans.

The government opposes a discussion on tax relief for other reasons than the unions.

The unions fear this would lead to a redistribution of incomes in favour of business, while the Chancellor and his Ministers want to avoid a discussion because business would postpone decisions on which taxation would have a bearing until they had exact figures on the benefits from tax relief.

Considering the present economic doldrums, any discussion on tax relief is out of keeping with the government's ideas.

The economists reject the intimation that they are acting on behalf of business, saying that tax relief might or might not help to right the economy, but that it would do no harm.

Should workers save instead of spending their higher take-home pay, this would have an anti-inflationary effect. And if they spent the money, they would still not cause added inflation as long as production capacities were not fully utilised.

The economists do not, however, exclude the possibility that the good news of general tax relief might improve the mood, with a beneficial effect on the economy.

Moreover, the economists say, tax relief would be an equitable move. Since deductibles have remained unchanged despite higher incomes due to inflation, this should be offset by tax reductions from time to time.

In addition, the heavy burden on the medium and higher income brackets should be removed since it hits those who are expected particularly to perform above the average.

The majority of coalition MPs still back the government, but as the year goes on it will become evident that the government's 3.5 per cent growth target will not be reached and that the economists' 2.5 per cent figure is more likely.

The major obstacles to growth are the dollar weakness and excessive wage deals.

If growth rates fail to materialise and the number of jobless rises, social security pensions will once more be in jeopardy and political pressure from coalition and Opposition ranks will become so heavy that the government will have to do something.

Even if it fails to do much good, tax relief would cause the least harm. It is therefore likely that something along those lines will be done in the second half of the year.

Rudolf Herlt

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 3 May 1978)

■ TECHNOLOGY

Pioneer meths-into-protein plant goes into operation

Hoechst, the Frankfurt chemical manufacturers, have opened a pilot plant to convert methanol, or methylated spirits, into high-grade protein.

The initial capacity of 1,000 tons a year belies the promise of the project, which enjoys enthusiastic financial backing from the Bonn Ministry of Research and Technology.

So manufacturing protein from petroleum is no longer a scientist's pipe dream; it is an operational process. It certainly holds forth what may prove the sole prospect of preventing mass famine.

There are a number of micro-organisms which thrive on a diet of "black gold" and are capable, given the right environment, of synthesising vital proteins in the process.

The Frankfurt pilot project started in 1971. By next year an estimated DM60 million will have been invested in this bid to help feed the world and conserve the environment.

These are the tempting, challenging objectives of the research and development by Hoechst AG and Uhde GmbH in conjunction with the Bonn government.

The more immediate objective of the pilot plant is twofold. First, says Professor Weissermel, head of research at Hoechst, the project is designed to demonstrate that protein suitable for use as both food and fodder can be produced from inexpensive raw materials regardless of location or climate.

Second, the plant will, it is hoped, shed new light on microbiology and bioengineering, which is a particularly fast-growing science at present.

The raw material, methanol, is not only inexpensive and plentiful but can also be refined from a variety of fossil fuels, such as petroleum, natural gas and coal.

But the hardest-working member of staff is undoubtedly Methylomonas clara, a microbe project director Paul Präve brought back from a holiday by the North Sea some time ago and has since cultivated under laboratory conditions.

The entire venture is based on three facts:

— Bacteria consist of between 40 and 70 per cent protein; the Hoechst microbe has an even higher protein count.

—Micro-organisms are known to double their biomass fast. Bacteria and yeast double in size in between 20 and 100 minutes, whereas grass takes a week or two to match this feat and cattle a month or two.

— Since 1913 micro-organisms have been known to feed on hydrocarbons.

The biomass that can be manufactured industrially by vat fermentation is thus a rich source of high-grade protein that can be synthesised in a small space regardless of climatic conditions.

Methylomonas clara is a particularly convenient strain of bacteria in several respects. Unlike most other microbes, which require a diet of starch and sugar, Methylomonas clara thrives on methanol, a petroleum byproduct.

In common with all plant life it takes its carbon dioxide (and possibly its nitrogen too) from the atmosphere, together with a dash of ammonia, phosphates and traces of mineral salts.

As soon as all the items on the menu are available Methylomonas clara just grows and grows. It doubles its biomass in a matter of hours, so a crop can be harvested every two or three days.

What is more, this particular microbe contains roughly 80 per cent protein and a few nucleic acids and fats. So methylomona clara is a particularly interesting contender for industrial manufature of protein.

Micro-organisms, especially bacteria and yeast, have served mankind for millenia. They are instrumental in the processing of wine and beer, sauerkraut and cheese and, more recently, antibiotics.

But in the past they have been put to use mainly on the basis of empirical observation. Only now are science and technology probing the basics of biochemical processes and putting what is learnt into practice.



From the right: Hoechst project director Dr Paul Präve and Bonn Research and Technology Minister Volker Hauff at the new Frankfurt pilot plant where methanol is converted into high-grade protein (Photo: Alexander Dées)

In harnessing micro-organisms to convert methanol into protein, for instance, specific nutrients in specific quantities can be used.

This not only means constant quality; natural growth in the vat can also be kept under mechanical surveillance, with the result that the process can be maintained nonstop.

An improved understanding of natural biochemical processes has naturally exerted an influence on bioengineering. Process equipment requiring a minimum of operational energy has, for instance, been developed.

The benefits of industrial and technological processes can be combined with those of natural processes much more effectively than even 10 or 20 years ago. The manufacture of protein from methanol is a case in point.

In a synthetic nutrient solution of exactly the right composition the bacteria burgeon. After a few hours the solution turns into a soup of biomass from which high-grade protein can be harvested.

A kilogram of methanol, project scientists in Frankfurt claim, can be converted into roughly a kilogram of biological cell-mass.

Come harvest time the bacteria are separated from the nutrient solution and a few bacteria returned to the vat in order to ensure that the process remains continuous.

But most of the cell-mass is dried and processed. Fats and nucleic acids which adversely affect the quality of the protein must be extracted.

The end-product is a brownish powder which is, Dr Präve says, natural protein: it does, after all, come from microorganisms.

All the microbiologists have to do, he claims, is to supervise the vat fermentation and ensure that no genetically or chemically abnormal bacteria emerge.

The mighty microbe has been harnessed in a number of countries to refine protein from petroleum. Hoechst in Frankfurt are by no means on their own.

The protein is used for the time being solely as a fodder additive. Once it has been shown to be harmless to the human organism — but not beforehand — it will be used instead of flour in food for people as well as animals.

Scientists envisage adding 15 per cent protein to flour used in baking bread and confectionery. The resulting products would be protein-enriched.

Journalists were served protein-enriched biscuits at the Frankfurt opening ceremony. No one noticed any difference in taste from ordinary biscuits.

Before "natural" protein refined from petroleum can be served as a food additive, however, the product must be passed by government health authorities.

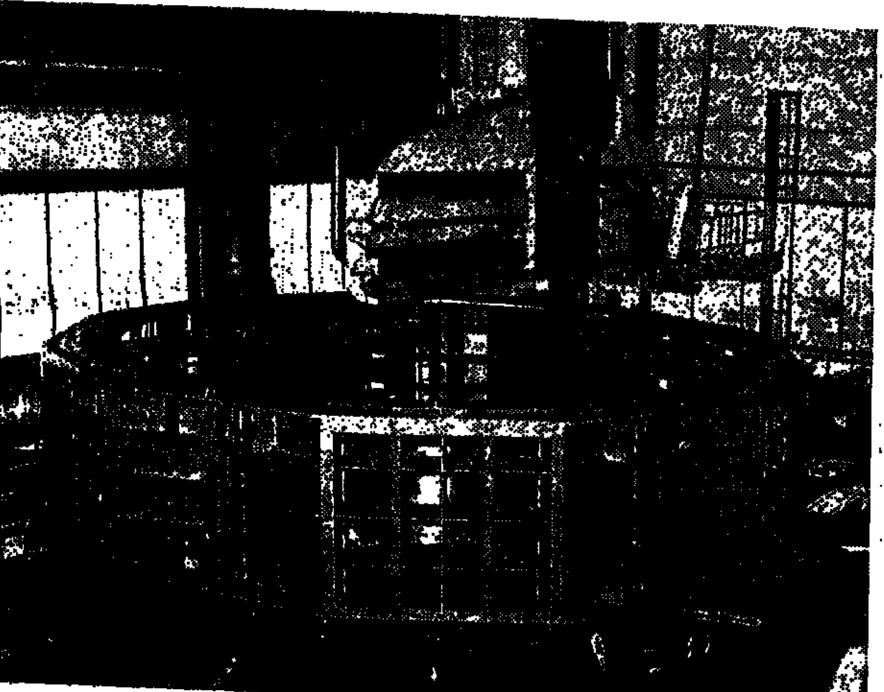
The go-ahead will only be given once lenthy trials have demonstrated conclusively that consumption of this protein in no way constitutes a health hazard.

Professor Weissermel adds that protein produced in this way can use whatever raw materials are available. So it is hardly surprising that many Third World countries with ample petroleum reserves but little in the way of protein-rich foodstuffs have already shown interest in the Frankfurt project.

Frankfurt scientists reckon a few per cent of annual petroleum output should prove sufficient to meet the whole world's protein requirements.

Konrad Müller-Christiansen

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 6 May 1978)



Berlin heavyweight

Giant housing for the Keban Dam hydroelectric power station is the largest piece of equipment produced in AEG-Telefunken's Berlin workshops. It weighs 67,5 tons and is 10,5 m (34ft 6in) in diameter. Four generators with an output of 201,25MVA are being built for the second stage of the Turkish project and go into service in 1980. The dam will then be the country's largest power plant. (Photo: AEG-Telefunken)

Continued from page 6

ten per cent. They also expect subsidies for the re-equiping, of their vessels.

Bonn is unlikely to be tight-fisted, and the coastal Länder also seem prepared to dip into the till lest they be told that they stood by while jobs were lost.

Even so, the offshore fishing industry, now employing 3,500, expects to be faced with 100 to 200 redudancies. They hope this can be done without hardships in the wake of normal fluctuation.

The new types of fish will probably be reasonably priced, which might comfort the consumer.

Of course, fish-eaters have become used to high prices in the past few years. Some fish today cost two-and-a-half times as much as seven years ago

While a pound of cod fillet sold for between DM2,65 and DM3,40 in 1974, it now stands at DM4,95 to DM5,35.

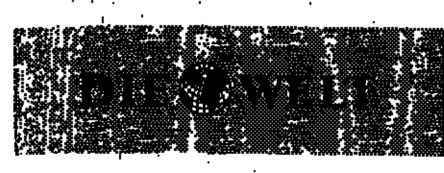
The German's favourite fish, the herring, has meanwhile become a delicacy ... but there is still the pilchard.

Johannes Christ

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 6 May 1978)

■ TRANSPORTS

Little 'uns big drawcards at Hanover air show



One aircraft sold like hot cakes at the Hanover air show; a polystyrene model visitors flocked to buy at DM12 a time in Hall 4.

The model aircraft is environmentally beyond reproach, can hardly be said to guzzle kerosene but is unlikely ever to fly a planeload of holidaymakers to Majorca.

It certainly proved popular with the crowds who passed through the turnstiles. They showed more interest in the model than in attempts overhead by real aircraft to break some record or other, or in a flight demonstration by the European Tornado multi-role combat aircraft.

In many respect the DM12 model aircraft symbolised the Hanover air show, which has dubbed itself "international" again for the first time since the war.

The big planes were missing at Hanover, the sensations, if they were that, being easily reeled off:

- There was the VFW 16, shortly to be marketed in this country at DM30,000, or less than the price of a first-rate family saloon.
- There was the new Dornier Skyservant, boasting a quieter but more powerful turboprop engine.
- There was the Fanliner and, from the same manufacturer, the Fantrainer, which conjures from the conventional combustion engine a performance that would do many a jet credit. The civilian version of the Fanliner even has styling by exclusive Italian designer Luigi Colani.

Manufacturers of sports and business aircraft seemed to have flown everything they have to Hanover. They evidently reckoned sales were still to be found in Germany.

But there was no sign of the big boys, the aircraft which fly south to the sun for our summer holidays or across the Atlantic.

Somehow the European airbus manufacturers managed to fly an airbus to Hanover. It was due for delivery but there was time to show it to the fans.

The airbus is selling well, so its presence in more than effigy was a stroke of good luck, although US manufacturers have resolved to get their own back on the European consortium for "filching" US domestic sales.

Yet US manufacturers had not an airliner at Hanover to show their European clients and, no doubt, their future passengers. There was not even a model of the new Boeing range.

The Americans were also sparing in demonstrating the prowess of the US Air Force. A flypast of USAF jets from bases on the Rhine was not held until the final day of the Hanover show.

But the Bundeswehr had its aircraft on show both indoors and outdoors, and the Luftwaffe exhibits were as popular with young people as ever. Boys seem as interested as ever in everything that flies.

The Hanover air show could have been more impressive if all these craft had flown simultaneously, but it could hardly claim to be a showcase for the international aerospace industry.

Even other European countries only exhibited aircraft designed and manufactured jointly with Bonn. There was no sign of French Mirage or Swedish Viggen jets, nor of Jaguars or Harriors — except, perhaps, on flypast day.

Even Aviaexport, the Soviet corporation, chose not to invest in exhibiting the 120-seater YAK 42 at Hanover. Attempts to sell the smaller YAK 40 in the West a few years ago will doubtless have taught the Russians that selling aircraft outside the East bloc is hard work.

The Soviet Union evidently feels that the Paris air show at Le Bourget next year will be a more promising market-place for showing an international public that Soviet aircraft can compete with Western counterparts.

As for space research, the only exhibitors at Hanover this year were European participants in the Spacelab programme. Two years from now, if the project goes ahead according to plan, Spacelab will be in orbit and hitting the headlines.

Klaus Müller

(Die Welt, 2 May 1978)

Lufthansa to branch out from Frankfurt

Lufthansa is no longer to rely exclusively on Frankfurt as its major international airport in West Germany.

Rhine-Main suffers from overcrowding and also lacks the latest in flight safety devices for all-weather operations.

Over the next few years another airport is to share the workload of international traffic, Lufthansa director Rolf Stüssel announced at the Hanover air show.

Frankfurt as a connecting airport has come in for repeated criticism from the flying public. For Lufthansa it shares with Cologne, Stuttgart and Bremen the reputation of being a problem airport.

At Rhine-Main Lufthansa is unable to put to best use the all-weather instruments with which its aircraft is equipped.

Flight cancellations due to fog at Frankfurt cost Lufthansa roughly DM5 million a year in revenue.

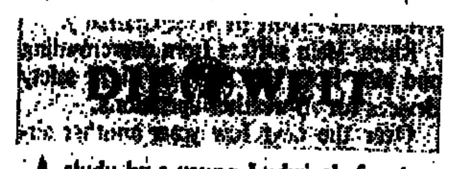
Both Lufthansa and Hapag-Lloyd's charter division plan to make increasing use of jumbos on short and medium-haul routes. Hapag-Lloyd also plan to embark on long-distance flights, using 250-seater aircraft.

At present Hapag-Lloyd fly Boeing 727s, while Germanair, a subsidiary, flies the airbus. But a replacement for the Boeings is evidently planned, since a Hapag-Lloyd board member announced at the air show that capacity is to be increased while maintaining the same number of aircraft.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 5 May 1978)

■ WRITING

Teenage reading habit study finds old assumptions wrong



A study by a young Ludwigshafen teacher of the reading habits of teenagers has shown that many assumptions about the poor state of reading among the young are wrong.

Dieter Kirsch analysed the reading matter of 410 pupils between 14 and 16 in Ludwigshafen schools. What he found fails at many points to corroborate current theories that social circumstances have a marked effect on lowering reading standards.

Examples of poorly-read students abound. A famous professor of jurisprudence cites the example of a candidate for the first state law examination, a former president of the students' union, who had never heard of the French Revolution in his life.

A professor of German cites a similar, equally incredible case. An examination candidate who hoped to become a teacher, chose Lessing's *Emilia Galotti* as his special subject for the oral examination. During the cross-examination he had to admit hat he had never read the play, but had seen it once on television. For the rest he relied on secondary literature.

It is difficult to believe that a twenty-five-year old, even if he had never heard of the French Revolution at school, should never have come across it in his reading. Or can people get by without reading these days? Do they fear contagion by reading and confine themselves instead to looking, talking and listening?

There is an enormous amount of talk about reading in this country: critical reading, methods of teaching reading, emancipatory and non-emancipatory texts, the standard language, class language, class-specific reading patterns, sense and nonsense of the best-seller lists.

Experts at conferences are quick to conclude that too little is read and read wrongly, that the wrong people read the wrong things. There are disagreements as to the methods of teaching people to read the right things, and of course, about what the right things are.

A look at the facts is a comforting corrective to all this pessimism. People do read. Books and comics play a more important part in young people's lives than television, a fact known for years. The trouble is that there has not up to now been enough detailed and skilful research on what they read.

Dieter Kirsch's dissertation title, *Literaturbarrieren bei jugendlichen Lesern*, (Haag u. Herchen, Frankfurt), indicates that he was expecting to meet these barriers. However he found that the range of books read by 14 to 16-year-olds is very wide.

Disparagement by teachers does not stop pupils reading popular literature, any more than the teachers before the World War One could persuade their pupils to read "novels of the fatherland."

Regardless of whether they were grammar school, technical school or secondary modern school pupils, or whether their parents were agricultural or unskilled workers or highly paid managers, the pupils all had the same favourite authors: Karl May, Johannes Mario Simmel, *Margaret Mitchell, followed by* Konsalik, Edgar Wallace, Charrière, Jack London.

The other books mentioned are a motley mixture of schmaltz, literature with a capital L, and big names: Segal's *Love Story*, Kishon, Siegfried Lenz's *Deutschstunde*, *Moby Dick*, Knittel's evergreen *Via Mala*, Wolfgang Borchert's post-war play *Draussen vor der Tür* and Solzhenitsin's *Archipelago Gulag*.

Of Heinrich Böll's work, only *Ansichten eines Clowns* rates a mention (indeed only 4.4 per cent of the pupils said they read this kind of literature).

The only classical German author mentioned is Theodor Storm with his novella *Der Schimmelreiter*. As for TV personalities, Cousteau and Haber's books were mentioned and in general it is clear that TV and film version of books encourage pupils to go back and read the originals.

Adventure novels and thrillers came top of the list, followed by love and women's stories. As for comics (which naturally form the larger part of the reading of poorer children) *Asterix* is top of the list, ahead of cheap love stories, Jerry Cotton and Mickey Mouse.

Those who believe that there is any overt or covert influence by adults behind these choices are wrong. More than a half of those asked said they had chosen the books themselves. Sometimes they acted on advice from friends. Their teachers were not mentioned at all.

The often-cited fear of books among the lower economic classes is corroborated only by the fact that these children do not go to public libraries as often.

Almost 50 per cent of all secondary modern school pupils and almost 60 per cent of grammar school pupils said they went to the public library regularly. Only 22.5 per cent of secondary modern school pupils said they had never been inside a public library.

Public libraries are well stocked with the kind of books educationists would like to see young people reading. Unfortunately, they are little read. Young people stick to Winnetou, shmaltz, excitement, eroticism, fun and information in moderation. Now and again they choose something a bit more demanding, but not because they are forced to or want to emancipate themselves.

Why is this? Is it because they are victims of consumer ideology? Are those right who argue that the end of the book is nigh? Are those who want to replace reading with action because people insist on reading what they consider to be the wrong books right?

In 50 years all this will seem ridiculous. Perhaps then we will realise that young people regard reading not as a social duty but as simple a delight in the fiction of the text (Kirsch). Kirsch also says that 65.9 per cent of all those asked preferred to read in bed.

Joachim Neander

(Die Welt, 28 April 1978)

PEN conference takes stand on free thought, expression

Walter Jens, PEN panel member (Photo: Interpress)

This year's meeting of the German *PEN-Club in the ancient Huguenot* and university town of Erlangen was an unqualified success, in contrast to last year's autumn conference in Celle which was boycotted by the local newspaper and almost ignored by the locals.

Authors read from their works to packed rooms, there were long queues for signatures, and the main hall of the Erlangen Stadthalle was jammed during the discussion on Literature and Television.

The discussions among PEN club members were similarly cordial. At last year's meeting there was a fierce controversy about the admission of the Marxist economist Ernst Mandel into the club but the debate was not renewed.

Debates were conducted in sober, matter-of-fact fashion and the members displayed what Walter Jens, re-elected as the club's president, described as "Brechtian amicability." The Mandel affair was forgotten.

Thirty members resigned in May 1977 and the present membership is 458. About a hundred of these came to Erlangen, a good average.

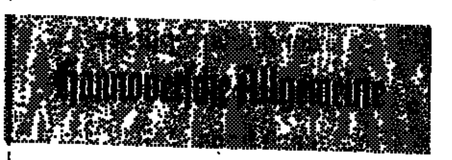
A paperback published recently by the Wilhelm Goldmann Verlag and written by PEN general secretary Martin Gregor-Dellin tells of the history and purpose of the German PEN centre. It is the first PEN publication available to the public.

For many years one had the impression that the PEN club was a wild political debating society. This is no longer the case, but this does not mean that the German PEN club, one of 85 in the world, will not continue to fulfil the political function which the International PEN charter requires it to have.

The statements in the general secretary's report are of high political relevance. Gregor-Dellin criticised the insidious tendency of denouncing critical authors, warned of the dangers of the increasingly evident loss of debate on dangers that the planned law on registration represented for citizens.

Gregor-Dellin stressed the importance of PEN's stating its position on these issues because they directly affect freedom of thought and expression and the right to privacy.

This explains the unanimous acceptance of a resolution against the com-



puter storage of numerous personal details under the new law, which the Bonn Ministry of the Interior has even justified in terms of the Nazi decree of 10 April 1938 by the Reich and Prussian Minister of the Interior.

This also explains the discussion of the increased control over radio and television programmes by political officials.

The members voted for a motion by the executive demanding information on whether the imprisoned writer Peter Paul Zahl is being subjected to controls and interrogation in prison for which there is no legal basis.

If the PEN club sees its political responsibility in these terms and, as in these three cases, states its point of view without overestimating its point of view without overestimating its own strength and influence, then it is on the right road towards gaining more respect and influence than ever before.

Political questions and internal matters only took up part of the programme. The central theme of the meeting was literature and television.

In one seminar, PEN members sat in front of six colour TV sets watching excerpts from literature magazines on various channels and then discussed with TV people the problem of how writers often become mere actors in such programmes. No decisions followed the discussions.

The same can be said of the main public event, the highly effective juxtaposition of an original literary text and the filmed version.

The work was Max Frisch's *Skizze eines Unglücks* (Sketch of an Accident) the film of which was directed by Georg Radanowicz. The Panel — Reinhard Baumgart, Leopold Ahlsen, Eberhard Fechner, Franz Josef Wild and Walter Jens among them — differed greatly in viewpoints. Baumgart maintained that "literature does not take place on television," referring to whether literature can be translated from one medium to another.

There was unanimity on two points. One was that TV is a new medium with its own laws. The other was that there can be no general guidelines as to how as to how literature should be dealt with on television.

It was valuable to hear television directors and writers discussing these problems and the discussion will be continued. Next time the participants will have to bring film into their analysis.

The next annual meeting of the PEN club will be in Hanover next spring. The subject: children's books.

Rudolf Lange

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 3 May 1978)

■ FILMS

Christa Klages – tough theme turns out friendly fairytale

Margarete von Trotta's first film *Das zweite Erwachen der Christa Klages* (The Second Awakening of Christa Klages) could have been a tough and angry film: it is the story of a young kindergarten teacher who gets involved in a bank robbery to use the money to prevent the school being closed.

The raid is a fiasco and soon there is a massive police hunt for her. There is no way back. It is an account of how a passionately committed young woman chooses the wrong means for the right end, an account of despair and inability to come to terms with it.

No doubt many middle class children have found their names on wanted posters for similar acts committed with similar motives. How violence arises and how it destroys those who use it and the much-discussed "roots of terrorism" could certainly have been analysed in this film.

But it was not to be. Margarethe von Trotta's film on the lost children of the Schmidt era, which met with an enthusiastic critical reception at the Berlin film festival, is based on the authentic case of a kindergarten teacher called Margit Czenki, nicknamed the banklady, and whom "law-abiding" society is now preventing from leading a normal life.

Yet it is not a political film. It is a friendly, all too friendly, left-wing fairy tale that does not harm or frighten anyone, not even the WDR (West German Radio and TV) who co-produced it.

Christa Klages is a former convent pupil, divorced with a child. Why does a woman like her raid a German bank, radically risking bourgeois security and even her own life? We do not find out much about Christa Klages and we learn next to nothing about her second awakening.

Margarethe von Trotta, who co-directed and acted with Volker Schlöndorff for many years, presents Christa as a woman who would fit into any popular story. Christa comes across as a warm-hearted woman who loves people, a thoroughly noble character who does not change at all in the course of the varied and at times amusing action.

There is hardly any sign of despair in the film, and when Tina Engel in the title role is meant to portray the psychological state of a woman on the run whose plans have failed and who is increasingly isolated, Frau von Trotta makes her put a brave face on it.

It is no coincidence that the priest who after some hesitation helps Christa and her friend gives a sermon on Mother Courage and her dumb daughter who rescues the town by beating the drum. Later we see Christa's little daughter with a child's drum. We get the message.

As in all good fairy tales, the story has a kind of happy ending. After a summer holiday in socialist Portugal, where Christa and her friend Ingrid, who has left her bourgeois officer husband, learn to appreciate the simple life of agricultural workers, the noble robber returns to Germany and is caught by the police.

But the mousy little bank clerk whom Christa threatened to shoot when she robbed the bank is infected by the mood of universal kindness and does not betray her at an identity parade.

Seeing things in black and white: Silvia Reitze (right) as the cowed bank clerk robbed by Tina Engel in a scene from Margarete von Trotta's *The Second Awakening of Christa Klages*. (Photo: Filmverlag der Autoren)

The bank clerk Lena, played by Katharina Thalbach, and Ingrid, the officer's wife, played by Silvia Reitze, are the most interesting characters in the film, directed astonishingly well for a first effort. These two characters help it overcome its limitations as an effective but ultimately naive tale of cops and robbers and manage to give it, despite its weaknesses, a utopian dimension. Conditions seem transformable, characters change slowly but surely under the pressure "of the contradiction between what bourgeois forms and conditions (bourgeois marriage, work) impose on them and what they want and demand from life." This is how Margarethe von Trotta and her co-author Luisa Francia see the subject of the film.

Lena, strict and cowed, lives in a sad bedsitter and devoutly notes the football results on her pools sheet every Saturday. In the course of her search for Christa, she begins to yearn for the wild and disordered — the transformation of a clerk, acted with a touch of fanaticism, and a dream of solidarity.

Ingrid moves in a similar direction. Slowly, with suppressed curiosity and a long repressed need for tenderness, she decides to leave the comfortable prison of her flat. Her husband, the pedantic Bundeswehr officer who hunts bats, is such a pathetic figure that it is all too easy to laugh about him.

Margarethe von Trotta's is a black-and-white world. The grey tones of reality are not her concern, in this film at least. Despite this the film does convey a certain optimism and this is no mean achievement. Even the most naive fairy tales can give hope of better times to come.

Hans C. Blumenberg

(Die Zeit, 21 April 1978)

Brandner hits the road again with warm story of drop-outs

Uwe Brandner's latest film, *halbe-halbe*, (half-and-half) is about two men going downhill, dropping out.

One, an artist who has just lost his job, meets a charming woman in an underground garage and they dance an impromptu samba. The other, an ex-Bundeswehr flight controller who cannot get a similar job in civvy street because his education is not good enough, does a handstand in the down lift to the consternation of his fellow passengers. A right pair.

The two live in a monstrous apartment block in Munich, whose windows, like arrow slits, look over the industrial landscape. They meet and become friends when they share a piece of chewing gum fifty-fifty.

The two then take to the road. Director Brandner describes *halbe-halbe* as a road film, like *Menschen am Sonntag* (People on Sunday) and *Kuhle Wampe*, two famous films of the genre made in the 20s and 30s.

The flight controller, the younger of the two, goes to evening classes where he studies for the *Abitur*. There he meets a girl who sticks to him even when he is badly beaten up.

While the older of the two goes inexorably downhill — fraudulent company called Sunshine System swindles him out of his redundancy pay of DM30,000 — the younger despite, various difficulties, is on the upgrade. He passes the exam thanks to a charming black woman who whispers to him that Goethe wrote *Götz von Berlichingen* in 1773.

Now he can help the older one, who is reduced to sleeping on park benches and eating out of dustbins. At the end of the film the four, the two men and their girls, go off laughing and singing. The sad scenes were just an interlude, life goes on and who knows, it may even start looking up.

The idea behind the film is similar to that of *Jonas, who will be 25 in the year 2000*, by Alain Tanner. Both are about a generation who hoped for a change, a revolution, in 1968 but who now, ten years on, are disappointed and discouraged.

Another point they have in common is a belief in "private socialism." One man stops and asks for a light, the other gives it to him and gets a cigar in return. "One has what the other's got. That's what I mean by socialism" says Baron Wurlitzer, the beggar (played by Ivan Desny).

This principle is put in to practice later in the film. The older of the two men risks a prison sentence because of the crooked company and the younger, who has just recieved a lump sum payment on leaving the Bundeswehr, uses it to buy his friend out.

When the older partner's married girlfriend takes off for America, the younger one suggests the negress who helped him in the exam as a road-mate. The message is that this kind of unconventional and unbourgeois behaviour can help you to survive a crisis and crises can happen to anybody.

The film is full of movement, buoyancy, even frivolity. The music is by Peer Raben who does not, as usual, blow up the emotional moments with his music but plays them down, getting the feelings across to the viewers more effectively. American J. J. Cale sings the cheeky title song, which underlines the buoyancy.

One could say that this film shows disillusionment with the state, as does *Deutschland im Herbst* — a disillusionment which many young German film-makers have in common and which their older colleagues, who have seen far worse and are more hardened, cannot understand.

A look out of the window at a gleaming white atomic power station and many a close and unpleasant encounter with the police illustrate where the causes of this disillusionment lie.

It is difficult to understand why the voluntary film censorship body originally gave this film an X certificate (for those aged 18 and above) and then relented and said those aged 16 could see it too. There is a lot of hair-raising language, but it is just the language that young drop-outs speak.

Are there not over a million unemployed in this country and thousands of tramps? *halbe-halbe* shows how to shed the bourgeois corset. But it also shows how going downhill can suddenly be changed into going uphill and this example could be encouraging for many young people.

The camerawork, which shows the colourful city of Munich in black and white, (in his next film, Uwe Brandner wants his cameraman Jürgen Jürges to film the grey city of Frankfurt in colour!) is excellent.

Halbe-halbe shows the complex, taciturn side of people, too. Stage actor Hans-Peter Hallwachs, one of Peter Zadek's company, convincingly enacts the slow decline of the older Maschkera, Bernd Tauber plays the ex-flight controller with the utter realism he learnt from Grotowski in Breslau. The two women Mascha Gonska (met in the lift) and Agnes Dünneisen play their parts well.

This is a film for people aged 12 and over, a film about drop-outs who return to the fold told in light and easy style. After a period writing futile plots for television plays such as *Kopf oder Zahl* (Heads or Tails) Brandner is returning to his cinematic origins in *Ich liebe dich — ich töte dich*, at least in terms of visual brilliance.

Brigitte Jeremias

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 29 April 1978)

MEDICINE

New figures advance for genetic disorder research

Three more West German cities are to join 29 others with clinics able to diagnose genetic disorders in unborn children.

There are now 37 counselling centres in the Federal republic with facilities for testing amniotic fluid from pregnant women. This prenatal diagnosis for genetic defects is subsidised by the German Research Society.

The Nazi legacy has long hampered the Study of human genetics in West Germany.

Though efforts have been made to help those physically and mentally handicapped due to hereditary defects, those searching for ways of preventing these disorders could expect neither recognition nor financial support.

Committed doctors in the field were suspected of being eugenicists although they made it clear from the start that they were not interested in the "hereditary health" of a future society (and certainly not in a legislated form), but only in the health of children born today.

There has, however, been a change in the past few years. The initial opposition to the genetic counselling service started in Marburg in 1972 by Gerhard Wendt has largely subsided.

Now the 37 counselling centres perform a process known as amniocentesis, the prerequisite for tests to recognise hereditary anomalies.

The recent third European conference on this subject in Martinsried near Munich was held with the financial support of the German Research Society.

An interim research report was published in time for the meeting.

The Munich work group, headed by Jan-Diether Murken and Sabine Stengel-Rutkowski, together with Eberhard Schwinger presented its findings based on 4,500 cases.

Its report gave the conference delegates from 20 European countries and Israel a picture of prenatal diagnosis in the Federal Republic.

It has long been known that the risk of genetic defects in the child increases with the age of the mother. But it has only just become possible to provide exact figures on the frequency of genetic disorders of the chromosomes in every age group.

The researchers who met in Martinsried opted in favour of close cooperation in medical research – still a rare phenomenon.

This led to the evaluation of 13,909 prenatal examinations.

The information, elaborated on by *Malcolm Ferguson-Smith of Glasgow,* was obtained from women aged 35 or more at the time of pregnancy.

The report clearly demonstrates that from that age onwards departure from the normal number and shape of chromosomes increases every year.

This increase is relatively slow initially, booming conspicuous after the age of 42.

The usual recommendation in most countries that pregnant women, starting from 38, have amniocentesis and chromosome tests even where there are no suspected disorders is not to be regarded as a rigid age indicator.

The danger of parents having a second mongoloid child is exaggerated. In the case of this deformity, the chromosome No. 21 is not, as usual, double but triple.

The likelihood of such a chromosome aberration, called trisomy 21, occurring a second time in women under 35 is 0.5 per cent.

The Danish geneticist Margarete Mikkelsen concluded that the overall frequency of abnormal chromosome diagnoses *in a baby following a child with* trisomy 21 or other chromosome anomalies is 1.2 per cent.

While it was before only possible to establish numerical aberrations (that is, excess or missing chromosomes), today's more sophisticated technique enables us to determine the chromosome structure in detail.

This sometimes amounts to a reshaping of the cell core.

The so-called balanced translocations are marked by the fact that, while the structure of chromosomes is changed, the genetic material as a whole is fully preserved.

In such cases it can be taken as fairly certain that the diagnosis will have clinical consequences and will lead to physical or mental defects. This must be expected in all cases of non-balanced translocations.

When structural chromosome anomalies have been discovered in a family, it is advisable to examine the amniotic fluid in all further pregnancies. On this issue, too, the European Community study provides valuable information.

Apart from the chromosome analysis, the routine prenatal diagnosis of today also tests for alphafeto protein. Abnormally high quantities indicate hereditary kidney disorders and other defects, including severe malformations of the brain and spinal marrow.

Like other malformations, this can be diagnosed fairly reliably by sound waves *in the 18th week of pregnancy.*

Manfred Hansmann of Bonn University's gynaecological clinic said examinations by sound waves were an indispensable part of prenatal diagnosis. This method is not harmful to mother or child and provides information on the viability, the size and the position of the foetus and about possible anomalies.

With regard to genetic defects, this diagnosis is essential for the preparation and control of amniocentesis.

Amniocentesis entails no risks for the pregnant woman. The amniotic fluid is removed by puncturing the abdominal wall with a syringe.

But while two years ago at their Paris meeting the experts were certain that the foetus suffered no harm, they were somewhat more cautious in Martinsried, not wanting to exclude the possibility of injury.

The meeting made it clear that a European exchange of experience can greatly contribute towards preventing hasty conclusions based on individual cases.

Experience in prenatal diagnosis leaves no doubt that parents can in most instances be relieved of their worries about malformation in most risk pregnancies.

But if prenatal diagnosis finds that such a defect exists, the parents have a chance of opting for an abortion.

The grave psychological and moral problems confronting the parents in such cases cannot stop research into further avenues of prenatal diagnosis. The three-day conference of experts demonstrated that there are many new techniques in the offing.

Jürgen-Peter Stössel

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 27 April 1978)

Hauff opens ten-nation institute

The European Molecular Laboratory (EMBL), the first European research institute with headquarters in West Germany, was opened by Bonn Research Minister Volker Hauff on 5 May.

The DM70 million project is still to be enlarged to accommodate the expected 120 researchers from all over the world.

It has been financed by nine European countries and Israel. Their national research societies will delegate researchers to the institution council, its highest authority.

The laboratory is headed by the British Nobel Prize-winner Sir John Kendrew who, as director-general, supervised the development work.

Apart from the planned high-risk laboratory, the EMBL is fully operational.

The laboratory is soon to start work, following a check by the Central Commission for Biological Safety.

The commission consists of scientists and representatives of industry and trade unions. It will check the facility and supervise the genetics research in accordance with "top safety" regulations. These rules "for protection from the dangers of genetics research" were worked out recently by the Bonn Research Ministry.

This research, which has met with mistrust throughout the world, involves the technology needed for the artificial creation of new "gene combinations."

This includes gene manipulation and, the critics say, could involve *unknown* risks because the behaviour of nucleic acid combinations is still unpredictable.

Sir John Kendrew considers the work of EMBL important, not only in pure research but in terms of practical application in medicine, agriculture and industry.

Research results could be used for the production of such medically important substances as insulin, antibiotics and growth hormones. They could also contribute towards developing, better fertilisers or better strains of plants requiring less fertilising.

It is also likely to contribute towards better insights into cell-regulating mechanisms and such diseases as cancer. *dpa*

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 29 April 1978)

Berlin conference sheds new light on bypass heart surgery

A congress for doctors in West Berlin has contributed greatly towards a better assessment of bypass heart surgery.

The bypass operation is one of the most controversial in modern surgery. It involves the bypassing of occluded coronary arteries through the implant of a vein, usually taken from the leg.

The blood stream is rerouted much the same way as a traffic detour to bypass an obstruction.

The unusually heated debate over this method, introduced ten years ago, primarily involves heart surgeons and doctors specialising in social medicine.

The surgeons estimate that an annual ten to 20 thousand heart patients should undergo this surgery.

But since present specialised clinics can cope with only 1,500 bypass operations a year, this would call for costly new facilities.

Representatives of social medicine are doubtful about the worth of such an investment. The surgery, costing DM 25.000 does not provide a cure for the basic ailment, arteriosclerosis. It only alleviates the complaint in the final stage.

This obviously means a great deal for the patient suffering from breathlessness and chest pains at the slightest exertion.

But in terms of social medicine and the national economy, it seems pointless to treat only the symptoms of arteriosclerosis in its final stage at great expense instead of trying to prevent its occurence.

But the same objections could be raised against many other medical methods equally expensive and frequently less effective.

Non-surgical treatment of coronary infarction, including the long process of rehabilitation, is as costly and hardly more effective.

Because coronary surgery is new and spectacular, it has had the misfortune of becoming an example of the basic problem involved, essentially the question whether everything medically and technicaly feasible is also worthwhile in terms of health policy and the national economy.

At the West Berlin congress Berlin doctors showed a film entitled "Rehabilitation through coronary surgery?" made by Dr Georg Munck with heart specialist Professor Helmut Roskamm and other doctors. The film was commissioned by the pharmaceuticals company Pharma Schwarz.

It does not restrict itself to demonstrating the technical process of the bypass operation but also shows for which patients it is feasible, what risks it entails and its advantages.

The operation should only be considered for patients with severe angina pectoris who no longer respond to medication.

Very old patients with general sclerosis and a secondary severe ailment should not be operated on.

The final decision can only be reached after a comprehensive (and risky) examination of the coronary blood vessels.

The extent of the risk depends largely on the surgeon's experience.

In medical centres that carry out many bypass operations the rate of infarction during surgery is less than

Continued on page 14

EDUCATION

Sports experts put stress on pleasure of playing

Leading sports scientists met recently at the Ebnisee near Stuttgart to discuss the function and teaching of sport at a conference organised by Hofmann Verlag, Schorndorf, the leading German sport publishers.

High-ranking civil servant Ewald Wutz, responsible for the school sport in Bavaria, stressed that it was the sports master's job to make his pupils love sport.

Professors Ommo Grupe, August Kirsch and Karl Koch, all editors of books on sport, underlined the importance of learning, pleasure and performance in sport.

The *Schriftenreihe zur Praxis der Leibeserziehung und des Sports* (series on physical education and sport) reached circulation figures of over a million this spring when the translations into English, Danish, Spanish, Dutch and other languages are taken into account.

Professor Josef Schmitz of Saarbrücken, best known for his book *Sport im Spätkapitalismus* (Sport in Late Capitalism) and for his works on teaching sport, drew the bold conclusion that a whole generation of young sports teachers would have been lost without the series.

Hofmann Verlag also prints more than 200,000 copies per issue of its series *Beiträge zur Lehre und Forschung imn Sport* (Teaching and Research in Sport). The experts discussed the sense and purpose of school and club sport under the heading: Does Sport still have an educational value?

Two main points emerged. The first was that sports clubs could not be the sports schools of the nation because their aims were so diverse, ranging from sport for fun to competitive and top class sport. There was no common denominator between them. Apart from this, it was not clear what club sport should aim to educate its members for and how a decided aim could be achieved.

The second point was that schools, responsible for sports education, put increasing stress on winning at all costs and tended to forget that weaker as well as sportsmen good should derive benefit and pleasure from sport.

The most astonishing result of the discussion was the almost unanimous agreement that the much-vaunted educational effect of sport was an illusion. It was as naive to believe that team sport automatically led to fair and comradely behaviour as to suppose that reading of a Cicero text would lead to the adoption of Cicero's moral categories. A weedy windbag would not be transformed into a lion by jumping over the vaulting horse.

If sport was to have a educational value, it was essential that sports teacher be able to achieve the aims which society as a whole had found desirable. The scientists, sportsmen and administrators at the conference agreed that it was vital not to make too many demands on sport. The goal of solidarity which was heavily stressed in the 1960s was not rejected but called in question. Sport alone could not achieve it. Kurt Paul, a leading administrator from Baden-Württemberg said that the courage to educate by no means excluded education for courage provided there was agreement on methods.



(Photo: Marianne von der Lancken)

He quoted Willi Weyer, president of the German Sportbund, who argued that sport without competition was useless. The need to compete was a basic human one.

Where better than in sporting competition can the pupil see the value of his performance and his efforts? The spontaneous experience of success, the direct social dependence and contact with fellow pupils, cooperation and criticism in the game, the need for splitsecond decisions, the importance of physical and mental factors – what other school subject offers such a chance of developing the personality?

The educationist Hartmut von Hentig once said that the value of sport was that the pupil should realise his potential. "Sport satisfies spontaneous needs for play and movement, playys a vital part in our physical development, counteracts the general lack of movement of most people today and prevents illness and poor posture. It also enables us to take pleasure in sporting achievements ..."

This is from the guidelines for teaching sport in Hamburg. It sums up the aims the sports teacher ought to be pursuing.

Jürgen Werner

(Die Zeit, 5 May 1978)

Job training schools to get priority

Pupils at *Berufsschulen* (vocational training schools) will no longer be neglected by educational policymakers. Bonn Minister of Education Jürgen Schmude is determined to follow his predecessor Helmut Rohde and give them priority.

The basic vocational training year is an excellent way to making the step from school to work easier. This year of full-time education before the pupils starts his apprenticeship or traineeship provides him with a range of skills.

Pupils can widen their choice of possible occupations as a result. It also means that a locksmith can more easily later retrain as a turner.

Some companies are still reluctant to recognise the vocational training year as the first year of an apprenticeship. Minister of Education Schmude plans to give pupils special grants which will certainly heighten the appeal of the training year.

If the Minister of Finance refuses to grant money, Schmude will have to find other ways to prove that he is determined to increase the status of these pupils. One possibility would be to give them high priority on his list of educational goals.

If Schmude increased the parents' contribution to student grants, now DM150 out of a maximum of DM550, the increase could help poorer parents give their children a sound occupational training.

For many years the sons of doctors were able to study because the income tax of the entire population, including workers, financed the building of universities. Why in times of unemployment should not well-paid graduates pay back some of their grants and thereby help reduce the high level of unemployment among young people?

Hans Josef Joest

(Neue Ruhr Zeitung, 29 April 1978)

Venezuelan grants for German study

The president of the Ayacucho Foundation, which gives study grants for young Venezuelans, is to visit Bonn shortly.

The foundation is named after the battle of Ayacucho which ended Spanish domination in South America 150 years ago.

Opening it, Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Perez said: "The new Ayacucho represents the economic liberation of Venezuela with the weapons of intellect, science and technology."

The function of the *Fundacion Gran Mariscal de Ayacucho* is to choose scholars and award grants for study in Venezuela and abroad. The programme has been running for four years now and 12,000 grants have been awarded. The funds come from oil exports.

German institutes of further education provide 120 places for Venezuelan students. According to an intergovernment agreement this is "technical aid against payment."

Ruth Lerner de Almea, president of the foundation, was interviewed by *Die Welt* in Caracas recently about the programme. Venezuela wants to train experts and administrators as soon as possible to help the industrialisation of the country.

One in two students studies abroad, mainly in the USA and West Europe. The demands the German institutes made were very high, she said.

The Carl Duisberg Gesellschaft looks after the Venezuelans while they are in Germany. Training for graduate engineers consists of a language course, practical work, a seminar for foreign students, and three to three-and-a-half years' study at institutes of further education.

There were difficulties early in the programme because the students did not like the practical side and wanted to start university courses immediately. Thirteen gave up and three had their grants withdrawn because of poor results.

But eighty per cent pass their courses, a high rate, as Frau Lerner points out.

The scholars have to show good results throughout and the foundation requires them to repay the grants if they do not complete their studies.

Graduates of the Ayacucho programme have to work in Venezuelan nationalised industries when they return home.

The Ayacucho Foundation is supported by Unesco, which describes it as a pioneering programme for the training of technically qualified workers for a developing country.

Manfred Neuber

(Die Welt, 3 May 1978)

Double training scheme has good results

A double qualification scheme run by the Ludwigshafen chemical firm BASF for the past six years has produced astonishing results.

The firm has been training laboratory technicians under the plan and interim results are to be published by the Rhineland Palatinate Ministry of Education shortly. They contain a number of ideas and proposals of interest to other Länder.

The experimental double qualification scheme means the trainees have a qualification as physical or chemical laboratory technicians and a technical university entrance qualification.

The project was started when it was realised that the core subjects of the professional training scheme, physics and chemistry, are also those of the technical college courses but technical college pupils without professional training are at a disadvantage.

The Rhineland Palatinate Ministry of Education approved a scheme for a three-year course consisting of professional training and the natural sciences taught at the technical college. The requirements for applicants were: Realschule certificate and indentures as a physical or chemical laboratory technician.

The experiment, in which 28 trainees a year take part, has produced surprising results. Two-thirds of the trainees finished the course in the shorter time of three years despite the high standards required. The remainder took another six months to complete the professional examinations, but this was still within the Chamber of Trade and Industry's prescribed maximum period of three-and-a-half years.

Accordint to BASF the average results were at least as good as and often higher than those taking technical college or professional training courses. The results in specific professional courses were better all along the line.

This clearly shows that the double qualification can be obtained within three years, though it was conceded that the conditions for the Ludwigshafen experiment was that the company and

Another result is the demand that these compressed courses should only be open to highly qualified applicants. BASF feels this is the only way of ensuring that the trainees meet the very high requirements in such a short time.

One positive side-effect of the experiment was that the company and the vocational training school met and discussed problems. Working parties consisting of teachers and company representatives will continue to meet to coordinate courses.

(Deutsche Zeitung, 28 April 1978)

■ SOCIETY

Concern over falling birthrate: 'Not a state matter' – Huber

West Germany has fewer jobless than most countries, the stability of the deutschemark is unrivalled and the social security system is proving its worth even in times of economic crisis.

Generally speaking, we lead in the commonsense of the parties to collective bargaining, the punctuality of Lufthansa or the functioning of state institutions.

Many foreigners feel we talk too much and too loudly about our achievements, comparing them with other countries.

The fact that our birthrate has for years been the lowest among similar industrial states is being ignored. Until recently, it was not done to talk about it, and those who did so were ridiculed or suspected of bemoaning the passing of a system which rewarded large families with such medals as Mothers' Crosses in bronze, silver and gold.

But the demographic issue has now become a matter of official concern, as Family Affairs Minister Antje Huber made clear in an interview with dpa.

"We are no dying nation", was her point, but she said the birthrate was nothing to be proud of though there was little the state could do about it. The whole issue was a social question.

Since the early 70s, births amount to only 60 per cent of the number necessary to maintain the population level.

Deducting the children of foreign parents, this figure dwindles to 50 per cent.

Every third child in Munich and every second in Frankfurt is born to non-German parents.

We have become accustomed to viewing births, the number of children per family and the net reproduction rate under the aspect of financing pensions under the social security system.

With few young people and a great many old, the question of who is to pay for pensions is only natural.

Frau Huber is right in saying that it is not the proportion between old and young but the economic potential and productivity of society which guarantee the individual's affluence.

But there is a certain cynicism in saying to the CDU Opposition, which recognised the problem earlier than the government, that India, with far too many young people, is not exactly a society worth emulating.

At a certain point the highly productive young in our society will ask themselves how much of their wages they must forfeit in favour of their old fellow citizens. Instead of a class struggle, Germany would then have a generation struggle on its hands.

There is no consensus among experts as to the accuracy with which the population trend in West Germany can be predicted. But there is general agreement that, should the present trend continue, the number of Germans would fall to half the present figure in a few decades.

One might then visualise empty motorways, a good teacher-pupil ratio and plenty of open space, overlooking that the reproduction of a society does not only create new economic conditions but is indicative of the way in which the society sees itself.

Those with children, and especially those with several, take on responsibility for the future. As citizens they have a vested interest in the environment, education and transport. And their imagination does not end with the day they begin to draw pension. A viable society thus lives from its children.

Granted, the state can rightly say that it cannot manipulate its citizens thinking on having children.

On the other hand, it (and above all its Family Affairs Minister) must be reminded that encouragement can be successful. It is here that a state family and youth policy is called for and it is here that the state has done everything in its power to put people off having children.

The consequence is not only a diminishing population — this could be coped with — but also a loss of social future.

Ludger Stein-Ruegenberg

(Deutsche Zeitung, 28 April 1978)

Continued from page 12

per cent, the mortality rate below three per cent.

Every fifth substitute blood vessel occludes again. But this need not mean failure because in most operations more than one bypass is implanted.

In few cases does bypass surgery actually extend the lifespan. But two-thirds of patients have no complaints at all for some time after surgery and 90 per cent improve noticeably — a success to which only few therapists can lay claim.

But after three years, only 50 per cent of those operated on are entirely free of pain, said Professor Roskamm in the discussion following the film.

There are no reliable studies on the long-term success of bypass surgery.

In the United States, at least 80 per cent of bypass patients return to work, while in this country 80 per cent retire prematurely, according to the medical journal *Medical Tribune*.

This might be because bypass surgery is more common in the United States and social security in this country is so well developed that people are tempted to make use of it.

According to the film, two-thirds of the people operated on return to work — but this only applies to the medical centre where the film was made.

Though the film arrives at a positive assessment of coronary surgery in terms of the national economy, this can only be accurate if a higher rate of rehabilitation is achieved.

Professor Günter Neuhaus, who led the discussion, summed up: Bypass surgery is no cure-all for angina pectoris sufferers and is only feasible in a very limited number of cases.

The disease can only be halted by eliminating such risk factors as smoking, obesity and lack of exercise.

Arteriosclerosis cannot be cured, but it can be prevented. *Rosemarie Stein*

(Der Tagesspiegel, 29 April 1978)

Essay contest brings out children's ideal holidays

Astrid, 9, wrote: "You should be able to roll down a mountain without being smacked by your parents."

Kirsten, 10, would "like to go for a walk in the woods in the evening."

Others would "like to see a trout swim in the brook and catch it with bare hands," or "be far away from the city, where there are no automobiles."

These are children's dreams of freedom on holiday and up to now they have gone unheeded by parents and tour organisers.

Children are rarely asked their opinions, says Thorolf Dold, the new tourism director of Neustift, Tyrol.

Having spent six years as a courier for a German tour operator he was well aware that parents chose holiday places without consulting their children.

He organised an essay competition for children between six and 13 with the theme: "My Idea of a Super Holiday in the Mountains."

A few days after the competition appeared in the press, he was inundated with letters.

Of the 100 essays, only six expressed a wish to laze in the sun. Annette, 11, wrote: "The sea is quite nice, but boredom sets in after a few days."

Mountain and forest hiking enjoyed top place.

Although parents frequently find their children get cranky, this is because they do not want constant supervision, seeking their own experiences.

Surprisingly, good food and drink also ranks very high in the children's ideas of a good holiday.

Almost all the "essayists" wanted a hearty breakfast. They want milk straight from the cow, freshly-laid eggs, crusty bread, juicy apples, farm-made cheese, spring water and wild strawberries picked while hiking.

Most children want a rural life, and are undemanding over creature comforts.

Wrote Lutz, 12: "Living on a farm, I would manage to make even my anti-exercise father hike with me to some log cabin where one doesn't have to be told about one's table manners all the time."

Many children want to take photographs, ride, fish, pick flowers and watch the sun rise or go down. And very few are interested in seeing castles, museums, folklore performances or going to films; most reject organised tourist amusements.

Only one boy even mentioned television ("with remote control"). The same boy wanted a heated swimming pool on the hotel terrace, a black horse to ride, gliding and "very good and fancy dining."

Holiday plans should be seriously discussed with children. This is the view of many experts and not only of the initiator of the essay contest.

Karl Stankiewitz

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 25 April 1978)

Warning on liquor and teen crime

Liquour plays an increasingly dangerous role in juvenile delinquency, according to a study published in the magazine of the Association of German CID Officers.

The report says 79 per cent of those guilty of crimes of violence were under the influence of alcohol at the time. The young toughs (including Rockers) showed an average blood alcohol level of 0.174 per cent.

Typically these delinquents operate in groups the study says.

According to crime statistics, only 7 per cent of juvenile delinquents act alone, when it takes much more criminal energy to commit a crime. In a group it is easier to overcome scruples and the moral burden of a crime is shared.

Statistics say a sense of adventure plays a major role in crimes of violence.

Youngsters want to demonstrate their prowess and agility, displaying terrifying brutality in the process.

Sex crimes among juveniles have risen only slightly. This is due to changed attitudes towards sex, although gang rape is still a major problem. This is attributable to individuals wanting to be regarded as daredevils in a group.

Drugs are a particular problem, hard to tackle because addict and pusher are frequently the same person.

Many minors shoplift, an increasing number of them girls, and it can generally be said that crimes by young girls have increased.

While shoplifting is due to *the inability to curb desire and the tempting way* goods are displayed, in other crimes risky situations play a major role. The crime is often intended to test personal prowess without regard for the proportion between risk and gain.

According to criminologists, any worthwhile fight against juvenile delinquency must take place simultaneously on several fronts: A prerequisite for success is cooperation and exchange of experience beyond the police force itself.

ddp

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 21 April 1978)

Bavaria offers cheap loans for couples

Starting from 1 July, Bavarian couples will get cheap loans after marrying and when they have children.

To combat a further drop in the birth rate, Bavaria's Council of Ministers has decided to introduce special loans for young families.

The loans will be granted by banks and savings banks in two instalments: DM5,000 on marrying and DM5,000 at the birth of the first child.

For these loans, maturing in seven years, the state will pay an interest subsidy of three per cent.

Having children will be a worthwhile proposition: at the birth of the first child, the repayable principal reduces by DM1,500 (paid by the state); for the second child by DM2,000 and for every other birth by DM2,500.

Couples who have five children in the seven-year loan term will thus have almost the whole loan repaid by the state.

dpa

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 26 April 1978)

■ SPORT

Soccer star who doesn't regret the final whistle

Helmut Haller, blond Bavarian soccer star of a few years ago, is busy packing his suitcare in the living-room of his Augsburg apartment.

Nowadays he seems to spend much of his time on the move. He is either bound for Turin and his old club, Juventus, or for Helsinki and Stockholm on behalf of the travel agents he represents for a living.

He takes parties of soccer fans to football internationals abroad. Soon he will be heading for Buenos Aires and the World Cup.

"I shall be seeing Sivori again, the old so-and-so," he comment. "He has a big ranch over there. We'll be calling round to have a drink or two for old times' sake."

Haller also plays in Uwe Seeler's VIP team, be it in Bavaria, in Singapore or in Sicily.

Helmut Haller is now 38 but feels that life is only just beginning. "I now weigh 79 kilos (174lb)," he says with a grin, "the best weight of my entire career."

But what sort of a life is it when a man spends most of his time packing and making sure windows are closed and shuttered before leaving home yet again?

"I'm not sure whether anyone else can understand how I feel," he says. "I have felt confined all my life. Life consisted of football, fixtures, training, eating sleeping and otherwise living like a monk. Then, suddenly, it was all over. Life lay ahead of me. I was free."

This is not, perhaps, a sentiment every wife can be expected to appreciate. Haller and his wife Waltraud are living apart for the time being.

"We have agreed to separate for an initial six months," he says. "Maybe we will get together again afterwards. I don't know for sure."

Waltraud Haller ran her husband's soccer career more efficiently than any other woman in the business. She gave Helmut good advice and looked after his every need.

At present she is busy looking after the fruits of Helmut's soccer career: an ample home and a small fortune. Daughter Karin, 17, and son Jürgen, 16, are still at school.

Helmut Haller for much of his career led a double life. He spent half of his time in Italy, half in Germany. It was potatoes one day and spaghetti the next, beer or vino rosso.

The conflict of loyalties hurt hardest in 1970, the year of his last World Cup, but the problems began in 1962, during his first World Cup in Chile.

He had come to terms with Bologna the year before but the German FA would not agree to the transfer; there was a ban on transfer abroad.

When he played for his country against Italy in Chile (it was his 17th cap) dramatic changes followed for the Augsburg mechanic and soccer pro.

The contract with his new Italian club was worth DM300,000 in the bank for Haller, not to mention bonuses and free accommodation.

"It was living off the fat of the land," he says. "But it was not just the money. I had felt since my early days that I should have to play in Italy sooner or later.

"The Italian style of soccer was more akin to my own. The Italians played to the gallery a little, and not so seriously and in such deadly earnest as in the country."



Yesterday's hero: Helmut Haller still has itchy feet. (Photo: Horstmüller)

As a soccer player Helmut Haller has probably always been an Italian. That was why he really came into his own in Italy, and why, in the 1966 World Cup in England, he was capped again for Germany.

Next time round, in 1970, World Cup duty came little short of martyrdom as far as Haller was concerned. "At seven every morning I went through a fitness routine with coach Jupp Derwall.

"It was all sweat and no ball work. I have always felt training without a ball to be punishment. In the end I was all in, not fit at all."

He now concedes that "an Italian such as I by then was is no good for a team." In the first World Cup fixture against Morocco the team played badly. A substitute came on for Haller.

"Everyone played badly but I got all the blame," he says. It was a sad note on which to end an international career.

Ulfert Schröder

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 6 May 1978)

Lakeside week gets jaded World Cup squad moving

Helmut Schön and his World Cup squad's week-long training session in Malente is over, and with it the first quarter of the final run-up to defending soccer's supreme prize.

Once again the Schleswig-Holstein sports school in its idyllic lakeside setting has proved its worth as a rejuvenator for the country's soccer squad at the tail end of a tiring season.

In a week spent alternating between peace and quiet and a little training most of the 26 hopefuls for a ticket to Argentina began to look a little more likely to peak in time for the tournament.

But the spirit of Malente, to which Herr Schön repeatedly referred, did not inspire the players to overexert themselves in the Probables v. Possibles match.

This game must surely be taken as an indicator of the benefit gained from the Malente training camp, and one can but conclude that a number of questions remain.

As ever, the front five present the greatest problems. The players did not make the most of the opportunities that came their way.

It is hardly surprising that the last goal scored by a forward in an international fixture was substitute Ronnie Worm's equaliser in the one-all draw with England.

This drawback might, in part, be offset by effective use of static situations such as free kicks and corners, but much too little attention was paid to this department at Malente.

Practice makes perfect, as league and Cup champions Cologne have demonstrated this season with their corner kick.

Where unforeseen injuries were concerned, however, Malente was certainly a fair test of the real thing. Bonhof and Franke, injured in league soccer, were joined by Dietz and Förster and even coach Jupp Derwall.

When the chips are down in Argentina, the team, in common with everyone else, will have to make swift and unforeseen changes only too often.

So selection of the final, 22-man squad is a tough and unenviable task for Helmut Schön.

Malente, it is probably fair to say, has taken the squad further, but by no means far enough to hold the promise of a successful defence of the World Cup title in Buenos Aires.

Helmut Schön and his men have exactly three weeks left in which to right matters.

(Kieler Nachrichten, 8 May 1978)

Star's send-off clinches handball cup for Germany

The outcome of the indoor handball European Cup final was a foregone conclusion from the 13th minute of the first half.

Swiss referees Ischer and Rykart sent off Dragoslav Pavlovic, 24, for a foul on Heiner Brand. Pavlovic, capped for his country 11 times, was the linchpin of the Yugoslav attack.

So Zeleznicar Nis were one man short and VfL Gummersbach, playing to 12,500 vocal supporters in Dortmund's jam-packed Westfalenhalle, looked likely to stroll home.

In the event Gummersbach managed only to scrape home by the narrowest of margins: 15-13 (4-6). The team was suitably chastened.

"We played well below our best. The team evidently failed to take the opposition seriously enough, especially after Pavlovic had been given his marching orders," said Gummersbach manager Eugen Haas.

Haas may have led his club to seven national championship and four European Cup titles but here he was far from satisfied.

"Now we will doubtless go on to clinch the national championship again this Saturday in Grosswallstadt," he forecast. "The team cannot possibly play worse than it did today."

Gummersbach needed only to draw in their crucial league fixture with Grosswallstadt to clinch this season's club title. But they went down 12-11 and n Grosswallstadt nudged ahead in an end-of-season thriller.

Gummersbach looked anything but relaxed in their game against the Yugoslav club champions and were suitably subdued at the victory celebrations. Congratulations were scarce and the champagne went flat.

"We never succeeded in playing as a team against the decimated Yugoslav opposition," conceded Joachim Deckarm, 24, who scored five goals and has been capped 92 times for his country.

Captain Heiner Brand, Gummersbach's other player of international standing, found praise for the Yugoslavs:

"Every member of the team played for two men, and as for the marching orders given to Pavlovic, it is only fair to say that I fouled him first; he retaliated."

Looking thoughtful, Brand added: "It is an offence for which the penalty is permissible, but whether it was warranted on this occasion is another matter."

Nis certainly managed to hold their own against the home side, with its vocal backing. They retained possession for much of the time and goalie Zoran Zivkovic, 33 (80 caps and team trainer) was outstanding.

Caslav Grubic, 25, with 18 caps, was almost impossible to stop as a goal-getter, netting the ball seven times.

At half-time Nis, given no more than an outside chance, were leading 6-4 and Gummersbach looked anything but pleased with themselves.

Gummersbach, the European Cup final clearly demonstrated, will not be a really first-rate European team until next season when national goalkeeper Rudi Rauer is minding the club's net.

Valentin Markser was no more than a makeshift, being substituted after 48 minutes, during which time he held only two balls.

His substitute, Reiner Schumacher, did not break any records either, only proving a pleasant surprise when he succeeded in warding off a seven-metre penalty.

Nis, it could be argued, were a little unlucky in some of the referees' decisions against them but with the exception of Pavlovic they accepted the decisions unquestioninly.

On three occasions, for instance, the Yugoslavs had already scored but the ref awarded them a free throw instead.

And five times they forfeited possession because their forwards had allegedly committed fouls.

Zoran Zivkovic, a member of the 1972 Yugoslav team that won Olympic gold in Munich and Nettelstedt goalkeeper a couple of seasons ago, had this to say:

"I would sooner say nothing about anything to do with the referees, but I must say that on neutral ground we could well have pulled off a sensational victory." *Peter Teske*

(Die Welt, 5 May 1978)